

# WORONI

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**ON THE OCCASION OF THE  
ANNIVERSARY OF HER BIRTH, THE  
STUDENTS OF THE AUSTRALIAN  
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY EXPRESS THEIR  
FONDEST WISHES TO THEIR SOVEREIGN  
LADY, HER GRACIOUS MAJESTY,  
ELIZABETH II,  
QUEEN OF AUSTRALIA.**

**GOD SAVE THE QUEEN**





**EDITORIAL**

**Workers Must Work,  
Managers Must Manage  
and  
Editors Must Edit.**

The views of the President are not those of the Editors.

**Woroni, ANU students' voice since 1948, now the best campus newspaper in Australia. We lead student opinion.**

**Editors: Stephen Kirchner: President, ANU Tory Anarchists; Commander in Chief, ANU Oliver North Appreciation Society; Chief Ideologist, ANU Students for Counter-Hegemonial, Anti-New Class Actions for Workers Defence.**

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**Retrospective Credit; Kean Wong for the Great Unwashed**

**Credits, Issue 5: David Wawn Shaun Walsh, Sean Leaver Michael Page**

**Covert operations advice: Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North.**

**Special thanks to Elizabeth II for being such a wonderful monarch.**

**Published by Lisa Woodgate, in her capacity as Director of Student Publications, on behalf of the ANU Students' Association.**

**Law Society presents an End of Term Frolic Friday, 1 May 2pm on the Law School Lawns. Food, grog, band and juggler. Rally and cabaret to follow at City Hill.**

**PRESIDENT'S REPORT**

A lot will be happening over the May holidays all over Australia for the free and accessible education campaign. The National Free Education Coalition is organising a national week of action leading up to the bringing-down of the May mini-budget. It will begin on Wednesday May the 6th with the release of a national co-ordinated set of demands in every major city of Australia. This set of demands to the government includes more than simply the abolition of the \$250 tertiary fee and the overseas student charge. To make our tertiary institutions truly accessible a lot more must be done, for example the guidelines for eligibility to Austudy should be reviewed. Many people in need find themselves ineligible for Austudy and, incidentally, also find they must pay the fee.

Wednesday will also include rallies in Queensland and Mardigras in NSW and Victoria. Thursday and Friday, the 7th and 8th, are going to be community information days. We can all hit the streets with leaflets, distributing them in shopping centres, at stop-lights, etc. and engage people in discussion about the issue.

This is an important action as the only time the majority of the

community is presented with the argument is through the media, which quite frequently misrepresents the issue.

On the Saturday there will be rallies and mardi-gras in South Australia.

The week will culminate in a tent city or a 'national free education institution' on the lawns of Parliament House on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday nights. Students will be arriving from all around Australia. We hope to spend Tuesday and Wednesday lobbying politicians. Wednesday night will be a vigil night as the mini-budget is released and what happens on Thursday will entirely depend on its contents.

We have established a free education group on campus who are involved in a broad range of activities for the campaign. At the moment we are trying to get discussion going and people moving in the halls and colleges and secondary schools. If you would like to volunteer to organise a discussion evening or to visit a secondary school or in fact do a countless array of things then look out for our next advertised meeting or come and have a chat to me.

If you're not really sure why the fee is such a bad thing then come and see me also. I can give you information to read or just discuss the issues involved with you.

Kate Andrews

**Monorail Bob**

Dear Eds.,

Now that Bob is bringing this campus together and telling us that he is giving us THE BEST UNION IN THE WORLD, may I make a few suggestions.

Firstly there should be a monorail linking Civic, Copeland theatres, the research centre (that's where the money is) and tinsel town, our new Hooker Harrahs Casino and union building. Included should be a flagpole (and observation tower) to signal our presence to the Japanese. These wonderful (wealthy) people should be courted, and a private heliport should be built to lure the interested investor. Finally, Bob can invest in a lifesize bronze of the Queen to greet us as we enter the palace. He might even do one of himself.

What's more, if he's quick he might even pay for all this with a bicentenary grant.

Ick Hempton

**Letters**

**Errata**

Dear Eds.

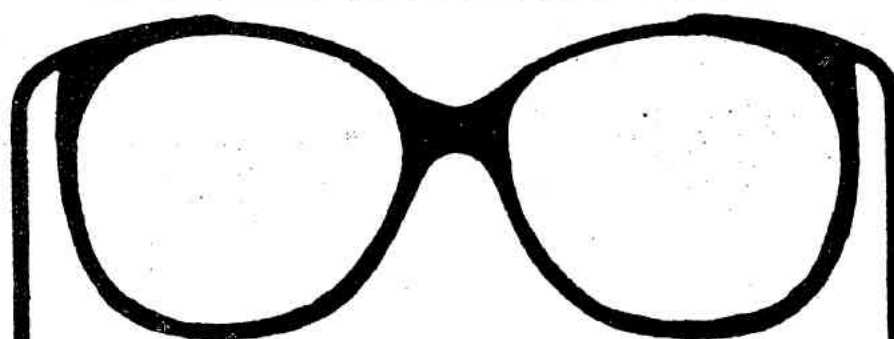
I refer to my article headed *Beginners Guide to Student Politics*.

There were two very bad errors contained in that article. Firstly, the *Labouring Club* should have been described as the "most unsuccessful Labouring Club in all of Strine" not "the most successful".

Secondly, I made no reference to "Young Thug groups". I in fact wrote "Young Turk groups". It appears the word "Thug" was added after typesetting. Surely this was not a DSP change! Whatever the case, please make sure that such changes (made for whatever reason) do not occur again.

Yours Faithfully,  
Marmaduke.

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## Student Unionism

Student politicians around Australia are currently protesting against the Labor Government's \$250 Higher Education Administration Charge. However, for years, these same student leaders have given their full support to that other compulsory fee you have to pay when you enrol each year, student union fees.

At ANU, the General Services Fee students must pay each year in order to enrol ranges from \$154-\$174 and goes to fund the Students' Association (\$116,000 in 1986) and to subsidise the operations of the Union (\$449,000) and the Sports Union (\$270,210). Practically every university in Australia levies compulsory union fees. If you don't pay the fee, you can't enrol.

The argument advanced in support of this arrangement is that students should provide for their own representation and for the services provided by the union. Yet by not allowing students to decline membership and the fees involved, Australian universities violate that most fundamental human right, that of freedom of association.

Most students more than likely don't want and certainly don't need the representation they get from the Students' Association. There are numerous Faculty and Departmental committees to which students can be elected to protect their interests *vis a vis* the university administration and academics. The SA also funds such representative groups as the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Collective (\$200 in 1986), the Southern Africa Liberation Centre, that collection of shanties outside the South African Embassy (\$450 in 1986), *et al.* Students should not have to fund causes and organisations which they disagree with. Our student leaders will tell you that if you don't like the way your money is spent, get elected and change things. But most students are too busy getting a degree and otherwise enjoying themselves to have the time to run student organisations. They should not have to go out and defend their money from other claimants, they should have the right to withdraw it in the first place.

The SA also funds the various clubs and societies on campus. This is one of the worst rip-offs you could possibly contrive where those who

are organised into groups and know how to milk the system can extract not insignificant amounts of money from the SA. The majority of students should not have to subsidise the "wine and cheese" or the political and other indulgences of others. The membership of these organisations should pay for the full cost of their pursuits.

*Woroni* is another example. Whether you like its contents or not you still have to pay for it. There is no reason why *Woroni* can't be self-financing through advertising and possibly by charging for it. If students then don't buy it, they obviously don't value it.

The subsidies which go to the Union each year only serve, like all subsidies, to allow the Union to run that much more inefficiently, in particular, it means the Union can afford to run at loss. The result has been an accumulating debt and massive cost padding. The

has a large, captive market with high, disposable incomes. It should have no trouble running on a commercial and profitable basis.

The same complaint can be made of the Sports Union. Those who don't engage in sport are forced to pay for those who do. The Sports Union has the highest number of people decline membership each year (over 5%), despite the fact that they have to pay for it.

The Federal government has the power to legislate to make student union payments voluntary for both the ANU and CCAE. Other universities would have to be addressed by the various State governments who have legislative jurisdiction over them. The Labor government, of course, supports compulsory student unionism. Previous Liberal governments have opposed compulsory student unionism, yet have done absolutely nothing about

abolish compulsory payments, to its complete disgrace.

The ANU administration seems to be distinctly uncomfortable with compulsory payments to student unions, as it goes to great lengths to hide the fact. The leaflet you are given by the administration when you enrol starts out with the lie that "...students of the University are eligible to join and may join, *without charge*, any or all of the following student organisations..." [my emphasis]. What, then, is the GSF collected for? It doesn't go to the Smith Family, or the Salvation Army. It goes straight into the coffers of the SA, the Union and the Sports Union. So it is impossible to say membership is without charge.

The University also engages in the charade that you can actually choose to join. You get to tick a box saying either "Yes" or "No" to membership of each organisation, yet you still have to pay, so it is hardly a real choice. The fact that your student card doesn't show whether or not you are a member of the various organisations testifies to what a farce this business is. You can still go to the Union and get a discount, even if you refused membership. They don't need to make this distinction, because you've paid either way. To be fair, at least the ANU gives you a "No" box to tick. At the University of Western Australia, there is only one box, marked, you guessed it, "Yes"!



justification given for subsidising the Union is that it allows it to provide cheaper services. But as all those who use the Union regularly will tell you, its prices aren't particularly cheap. It would be far more efficient to pay for the full cost of the service at the point of sale, rather than in advance. It is also more equitable, because it means that those students who don't use the Union for whatever reason (such as students who eat in college) don't then subsidise those who do. The Union

it, betraying their own beliefs and the Liberal cause in the process.

Yet Australia's university councils and senates are "independent, self-governing bodies", and so have the power to abolish the existing compulsory arrangements. However these bodies are too gutless to stand up to student unions and have actually lobbied the government on their behalf to maintain compulsion. ANU Council only last year voted against a motion moved by an undergraduate representative to

So next time you hear a student politician attacking the \$250 fee, you might ask him or her whether or not they oppose the fee that pays their salary. At some universities, the equivalent of GSF is well over \$250, however, only the HEAC is regarded as a "barrier to entry". In fact, what better way to counter the effects of the Administration Charge on the student pocket than for all student unions to stop charging fees. So come on Kate, give up your job and give the money back to students! \$250 for an education is a bargain. \$180 plus for unwanted representation and inefficient services is a rip-off.

Stephen Kirchner

## THE REAL PEACE MARCHERS

An old digger arched over a decrepit walking stick, his face lined with three quarters of a century's adventures and trials, his hands arthritic. At the War Memorial it was almost dawn on Anzac Day and the digger's medals glistened with the reflection of flames from nearby candles. His eyes were downcast as he stood by the stone of remembrance,

paying tribute to his fallen colleagues.

The digger embodies all that is Anzac. He is from a time when youth had a respect for their nation, their leaders, their families. When he was young, there was nothing abnormal about sacrifice and Australians knew the meaning of service.

Today, as young people, we seem to have lost the

devotion to duty that is characteristic of the Anzac tradition. We take to the streets to demonstrate in favour of the most selfish causes and regard nationalism and loyalty as notions to be spurned.

We need to recognise Anzac Day more than ever before as a time to express gratitude to those valiant hearts who were willing to selflessly defend human freedom. From those who landed at Gallipoli to our soldiers in Vietnam, Australians have fought for liberty and we should never forget their sacrifices.

The enormous numbers attending Anzac Day marches and services attest to the fact that Australians are rejecting the cowardice squeals of the Peace

Movement and are again embracing the spirit of Anzac. It is not surprising that more people were present at this year's Dawn Service than appeared at the Palm Sunday Peace March.

The contrast between the Anzac Day events and the Peace March is stark. At the peace rallies the usual rent-a-crowd chanted their churlish and selfish cries showing they have little to offer for Australia's future. They have failed to consider that you cannot capture the imagination of Australians with a future of pessimism, resignation and lethargy. The Anzac day ceremonies show, however, that a vigorous nation can be founded on a commitment to service, mateship and raw courage. The great defenders of peace

are not the peaceniks but our service personnel. In fact, there has been one genuine Peace March in April and it did not occur on Palm Sunday.

As young Australians, we must not recoil from our duty to make the world a nobler place. We must embark on the challenge issued by Brigadier Alf Garland of the R.S.L. when he said:

"Let us dedicate ourselves to taking up the burdens of the fallen, and with the same high courage and steadfastness with which they left our shores, set our hands to the tasks they left unfinished."

If we fail in this quest then the old digger at the Dawn Service may bow his head, not for his fallen mates, but for Australia's future.

GERARD WHEELER



## UNIVERSITIES THE MARKET SOLUTION

Professor Michael Porter

Australia's advanced educational standards and stable political environment give us some comparative advantage in education and training. The fact that a large number of Australian students are Asian supports this argument.

But Australia is failing to fully capture all of the social and economic benefits which can arise from this comparative advantage in education and training. Many of these lost opportunities have to do with the over-regulation by governments of our education system.

At the tertiary levels both in teaching and research Australia's education has been falling behind the United States and Canada. English, European and, indeed, Australian educational institutions have typically offered their teachers life-time tenure, have rarely charged fees, and as a result have ceased to produce the quality of education, particularly at the post-graduate level, which now characterises the North American universities.

We should simultaneously reduce the role of government in our education institutions and move towards the payment of fees corresponding to costs of education, using part of the sums raised to fund and introduce scholarship and loan arrangements for those in need. Where particular areas of study or research are deemed worthy of subsidy there should also be special scholarships; otherwise we should encourage choice of courses to be made on the basis of educational criteria and economic costs.

Educational institutions have a key role in promoting a liberal economic and social order. In addition, Australia is in a unique position to provide educational and training services of the highest quality in this rapidly growing and populous region of South-East Asia.

### The regulation of tertiary education

The Australian educational process at the tertiary level is largely supply-determined, with the academics and educational administrators providing courses which in many ways fail to reflect demand or cost considerations. While it is clear that the bulk of educationalists are concerned to provide education of the highest calibre, and while there are many examples of excellence and pockets of competition within the education system, the political rules of the game, as laid down in Canberra — in this case through the Tertiary Education Commission in consultation with Departments of Education — have produced a system which can be rigid and inflexible and a major source of inequality in our community.

The evidence for the proposition that inequality is fostered by the current education system, and its financial arrangements, stems partly from the fact that on the "demand side", the beneficiaries of "free" tertiary education are typically from above-average income groups. And that on the supply side, those retaining job security as academics are less able than many of those knocking on the door.

The stagnation in student numbers in the 1980s, coupled with the surge of new appointments in universities and Colleges of Advanced Education over the last 15 years, have placed educational administrators in an invidious situation in which they can make virtually no new appointments unless staff choose or are chosen to depart.

In those fields in which academics can be attracted by market demands from outside, the rigidity of the university salary structure tends to encourage the departure of many of the most able. On the other hand, for those academics who are paid

- The bulk of academic staff have tenure, with the exception of the relatively new appointees, many of whom are more competent than their tenured colleagues. There is no capacity to negotiate salary differentials (risk premiums) in exchange for security.

- Salaries are uniform within ranks regardless of demand considerations and almost regardless of performance.

- The bulk of research funds are payments by way of salaries to tenured academics to support their non-teaching time (at least 50 percent). Only a miniscule proportion of funds (perhaps 2 percent) is subject to competition.

Many of the features of the current regulatory structure, e.g., tenure, have thoroughly sensible origins. It was and is vital that academic staff be free of short-term political, racial and other considerations which might influence their appointment or termination. However, other university systems, notably the United

OKAY BUB - THROW IN A B.A.  
AT NO EXTRA CHARGE AND  
YOU'VE GOT YOURSELF A  
DEAL.



more than their "opportunity" cost (i.e., their alternative potential income), the effect of the uniform salary structure is to reduce the quality of academic staff below that permitted by university funding.

The salient features of the current tertiary regulatory structure can be summarised as follows:

- There is a fixed number of tertiary educational institutions funded by government, largely in proportion to student numbers.

- Programmes and degrees eligible for funding are determined centrally, with relatively minor scope for innovation.

- Fees are largely non-existent and student allowances are set centrally, do not vary across institutions and fail to reflect cost and demand considerations. Degree A may cost 10 times degree B but the student fees are the same in both cases, i.e., zero. Not surprisingly we get a chronic mismatch of supply and demand in different fields.

States and Canada, have found an in-between system in which tenure is negotiable after a significant period of apprenticeship and in which the salaries of tenured staff vary considerably, allowing the possibility, for example, of a tenured professor earning \$35,000 and an untenured lecturer earning, say \$60,000. This would certainly help create an educational system more relevant to our industrial and social needs.

An essential feature of any move towards deregulation of tertiary education is that universities be given the capacity to set fees on a basis which makes efficient use of their resources and which encourages students to make appropriate decisions regarding their education and subsequent careers.

### The role of government

No one disputes that there are external benefits from education. We all gain from living in a literate and informed community, and so there may be a case for financial inducements and regulation such that all members of our society have the opportunity, and perhaps the obligation, to have at least some minimal level of education. However, this makes a case not for governments producing and distributing

educational services, but rather for governments altering the financial terms on which individuals may obtain education.

If the community, through its government, wishes to influence the amount of schooling and tertiary education undertaken by its citizens, this makes a case for intervention in the financing of education, but not in its production or distribution. There is no evidence that government is especially equipped to organise, manage and distribute educational services. Indeed, the evidence that exists is quite to the contrary, namely, that bureaucracies, lacking private incentives, tend to become lethargic and inefficient relative to enterprises in which the owners and managers have a vested interest.

To my mind, an interesting experiment within the tertiary system would be for governments to allow universities to impose any fee structure they see fit, with fees varying considerably across departments, and with, say, two-thirds of the revenue obtained by this fee structure to be retained by the university. If current government funding arrangements were unchanged then university funds would be increased, the government would receive one-third of the fees raised, and students would face more relevant signals regarding the costs of their private educational decisions. While this "proposal" is a typical second or third best arrangement regarding the restructuring of education, it would nevertheless seem to be an innovation which is possible within the current tertiary system and which would start to bring a little bit of market into an overly regulated and government-dominated tertiary education system.

Such reforms allow more and better education at a lower cost to tax-payers. In my view Australia does not want or need less education or research. We want more quality education, and less constraints on educational efficiency and excellence. The current disaffection with the quality of our educational institutions should not be met with more public sector dollars but with less regulation and more incentives to innovate and excel.

### Exporting education

Deregulation would enable universities and other educational institutions to exploit the comparative advantage Australia has in education and training. For example, courses designed to meet the needs of fee-paying foreign students could be developed, without cost to the taxpayer but with benefits to our export earnings and employment in the tertiary sector.

There has been considerable discussion in recent days on both Australia's immigration programme and on the

reintroduction of fees for university students. The popular press has also been urging a rethink on policies towards universities, with suggestions of liberalising current regulations and introducing elements of competition. Furthermore the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC) is now suggesting concepts such as the open university.

Education could be a valuable export industry for Australia. Australian education is a product many people in other countries clearly wish to buy. The need to liberalise our economy is clearly recognised in other areas. It is time we began to apply these lessons to education.



# The Economics of Privatisation



Privatisation is on everyone's mind these days as the politicians battle for the high ground. PETER FORSYTH of the Australian National University offers some insight into just what advantages, in economic terms, privatisation can provide.

## What is Privatisation?

Privatisation has come to mean many things. In the simplest case the government sells an enterprise, such as TAA, wholly to the private sector. Less complete changes are also possible: for example government could sell 50 per cent of TAA's shares and retain the rest; or it could privatise some aspect of TAA, say by contracting maintenance work out to the private sector. Sometimes allowing competition for government enterprises is described as privatisation. Here privatisation will be taken to mean selling a public enterprise to the private sector.

It is important to distinguish between market liberalisation, or deregulation, and privatisation. Deregulation involves changing the operating environment, so that competition and market forces have more scope to affect the enterprise. Privatisation involves a change of ownership. One does not imply the other, though they are quite consistent. Privatisation could, for example, be accompanied by increased regulation and lessened competition. There is some evidence that governments find it hard to liberalise markets when they are selling public enterprises. Market liberalisation commands more general support among economists than privatisation.

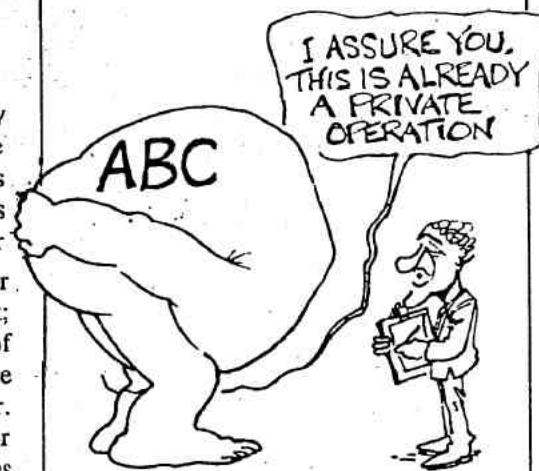
## Performance and Incentives

The way an enterprise performs depends on the incentives that are offered to managements and employees. Owners, government or private, can rarely get

others to fulfil their objectives perfectly; managers and employees have some scope to advance their own interests. When market power exists, it is in the interests of those in the firm to use it. The performance that results depends on the rules set by the owners, and on the market environment.

We can identify two aspects of economic efficiency: Allocative Efficiency and Productive Efficiency. Allocative efficiency involves the choice of the best price and quality mix. For maximum allocative efficiency, price must exactly equal marginal costs everywhere. If prices are above or below marginal costs, producers gain less than consumers lose, or vice versa. The conventional case against monopoly is that prices are too high, and output is lower than that which consumers would be prepared to pay for. Productive efficiency means that whatever output is being produced, it is being produced at minimum possible cost.

Two distinct cases do emerge. First, if competition is effective, private ownership is clearly preferable to public ownership on efficiency grounds. Both are forced to be allocatively efficient, whereas only the private enterprise is forced to be productively efficient. Second, with pure monopolies there is a trade-off: the private monopoly has incentives to lower one and raise the other aspect of efficiency, whereas the public monopoly has no incentive to achieve either aspect.

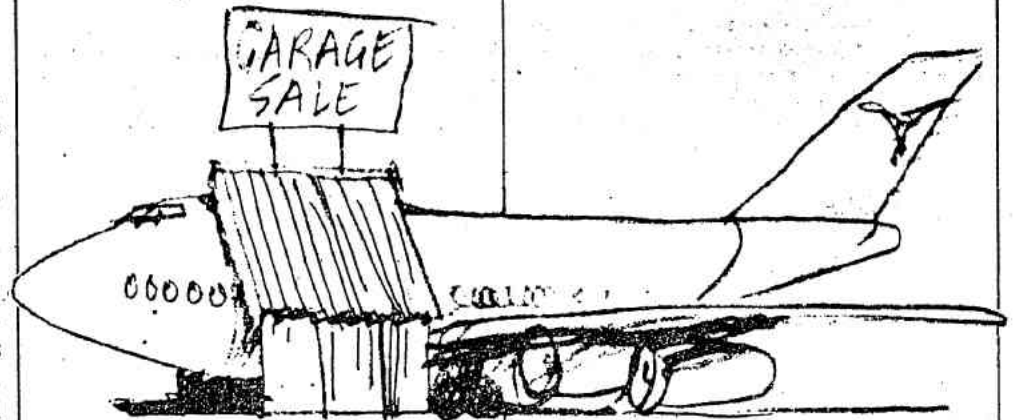


## Combinations of Incentives

Productive efficiency is not guaranteed in private enterprises. Firms with some monopoly power can survive even though they are inefficient and uninnovative. However, such firms present ideal takeover targets, and their managements will not survive if they are vulnerable to takeover. Owners may want profits, but there are limits on their ability to ensure that profits are maximised. If owners can control managers effectively, and if inefficient firms can be identified and either eliminated from the market or taken over, productive efficiency will be achieved. This does not always happen.

Private monopolies have an incentive to raise prices too high. This may be checked by regulation. This is one of the objectives of the regulation of natural monopolies, such as telecommunications and electricity distribution, in the US. When Britain privatised British Telecom, price

regulation was introduced to mitigate the poor allocative aspects of private monopoly. However, regulation usually has adverse effects and in particular it lessens the incentive for productive efficiency. It is notoriously difficult to design effective regulation.



With a public enterprise, the problem is how to institute clear incentives for efficiency. While such enterprises may have no clear incentive to reduce allocative and productive efficiency, they also have little incentive to achieve them. The situation is not entirely straightforward here either, since public enterprises can be given incentives to improve performance. Often profit targets are set, and managers and employees can be (though rarely are) rewarded according to profit achieved. However, just as with regulation of private firms, incentives in public firms are difficult to make work.

Thus, the choice between public and private monopolies is not clear-cut. The poor allocative performance of the private enterprise might be mitigated by regulation, and the public firm might be productively and allocatively efficient if given the right incentives. It becomes an issue of how effective the control (regulation, incentives and the takeover market) devices are, and how important the different aspects of efficiency are.

## Privatisation in Practice

If privatisation is to be considered a possible option, it is worthwhile examining how well governments achieve it. Do they arrange affairs so that the best possible performance is achieved? The evidence seems to be that they do not, for a variety of reasons. Until about ten years ago it was usually assumed that regulation existed to achieve greater efficiency - the public interest theory of regulation. Recently, it has been suggested that many groups gain from regulation, which often inhibits efficiency - the private interest theory. It may be that a 'private interest theory of privatisation' explains governments behaviour better than a 'public interest theory'.

If the public interest theory were dominant, we would expect to see privatisation accompanied by market liberalisation. Most government enterprises are protected to some degree from competition, and performance can invariably be improved if this protection is removed. However, this protection also increases profits, which increases the price potential buyers are willing to pay for the firm. Liberalisation, unless clearly

foreshadowed, is difficult to achieve after the enterprise has been sold - the government would be seen to be expropriating those with whom it had concluded a contract. Liberalisation before sale is feasible, and desirable if efficiency is to be maximised.

Furthermore, to increase the prospects of improvements in productive efficiency, it is desirable to expose the firm to the capital market as much as possible (rather than protect it and its management from takeovers). This will be unpopular with management, which will seek protection.

## Some Lessons

The case for privatisation, on economic performance grounds, is stronger for those enterprises that are, or can be, subject to effective competition. These would include banks, airlines, tile works, brick works, country guest houses, shopping centres and butcher shops - all of which are or have been operated by governments in Australia.

For enterprises that are to some degree inherent monopolies, the case is more evenly balanced. Which ownership structure is best depends on the importance of different aspects of efficiency, and on how effectively rules and environments can be used, under private and public ownership, to improve performance.

When an enterprise is to be sold, the market in which it operates should be liberalised as far as possible before sale - otherwise it is unlikely to happen. The best results are achieved when the enterprise is completely sold at the market price.

When natural monopoly is present, partial privatisation may be the preferred alternative. This could involve private operation of some aspects of the enterprise (such as selling telephone equipment for use on Telecom networks), or it could involve contracting out certain services.

The first question should not be whether, or how many, public enterprises should be privatised. Rather, it should be how the economic performance of these firms can be most improved. This might be achieved by some combination of full or partial privatisation, market liberalisation, and changes in the incentive patterns and operating rules for public enterprises. If privatisation is the objective rather than a means, economic performance will suffer, at least in comparison with what could be achieved.





## IN FOCUS Richard Carleton

Ex-U.N.S.W. Commerce student and 1965 Tharunka editor, Richard Carleton, recently returned to the university to speak to the Alumni Association. Tharunka's Kay Heycox and John Olip lured him down to the 1986 Tharunka office and asked him about his student days.

"Being a student was fun and it was meant to be fun. It was probably the luckiest time of all lucky times that this country has had. There were issues around to excite and stir people. It was a great time in my life — and it was easy too. Not just the work — the work may or may not be easy depending on how big a brain you've got."

Carleton emphasised how much harder it is for students today just to survive compared to life in the 1960's. "I used to go to King's Cross the day before the rent was due, at 3.00 that afternoon. I'd go and pick up a cab and drive the cab until such time as I had the eighteen dollars — the fortnights rent that I had to pay."

"Yellow cabs, Red cabs, Green cabs — all used to be up there at the Cross and I would walk into Reds and if they didn't have a cab ready for me I would say 'Well, bugger you. I'm going across the road' and I'd take a cab from Yellows. On Saturday night if I wanted to take a girl out or something, I'd just go and drive a cab until I had the money — it was a great life. Easy — compared to the life — the constraints that people work under now."

Despite causing outrage with some of the things that he printed in Tharunka, Carleton rejected the suggestion that he was a 1960's revolutionary out to change the world through the power of the Press.

"The essence of it was a lot of fun. Life's about enjoying yourself — or it was for me and it still is — and editing Tharunka was fun, exciting, lively. I got a kick out of it. Life's there for living."

But he added,

"We were not at all upset about upsetting people. Frankly, I don't care if they get upset. I don't particularly care if they get upset today."

In his student days Carleton was a member of the Eugenics Society.

"They published a magazine that had a couple of articles in it that I found interesting at the time. There's a better way of procreating than simply by chance. When you see some of the things that people produce by chance, you'd surely have to agree wouldn't you? You've got a perfect example that modern thinking is coming to that in Victoria. The Victorian Parliament is taking a very brave political step and a very dangerous political step in allowing the sterilization of retarded people. That's a very difficult decision to take politically simply because there's no votes in it — negative votes in it."

Carleton took seven years to get his Commerce degree with a statistics major, though not out of any burning desire to be statistician.

"It was just one of those terrible details of university rules or by-laws. You had to have a major and somehow I did well at mathematics at school. I just stumbled into statistics really. The pure side of it I found quite fun. I worked for a now defunct company called Australian Sibal (?) Craft and at some ripe old age there I was the Assistant Market Research Manager, which meant that there was the Manager and me — no-one else."

Several of the student leaders around then have gone on to build careers in politics. The Minister for Resources and Energy, Gareth Evans and the South Australian Premier, John Bannon.

John Bannon, Carleton recalls as a singer of English muscials. "Gareth Evans still keeps talking. You couldn't shut him up then, and you can't shut him up now."

"But being a politician — for all the trouble I might cause them — is not an easy job. Everyone of them is there trying to make this a better country to live in. They've just got different ideas about how to go about it. None of them are trying to bring the country down."

But on the subject of university fees he has definite views.

"I think that there should be fees — absolutely. Because university is a bloody privilege — its no right." Carleton agrees that if there are fees they should at least be means tested although he is uncomfortable about it.

"I don't like means testing because it really is the government prying into people's affairs."

Carleton was less than impressed with Priority One. "It cost a fair bit of money. It was a gimmick — it fell flat on its face."

After leaving university Carleton joined the A.B.C. and worked on This Day Tonight programme, eventually becoming their Canberra based political commentator.

"I get terribly frustrated with the A.B.C., but the fact of it is, that the A.B.C. have been pretty good to me — I would be the last to pretend that the bureaucracy there hasn't driven me mad at times — you know, really upset me — and I've got real problems with them right now. But I never lose sight of the fact that the A.B.C.'s been very good to me. It's given me opportunities in journalism that very few others have had or will have and I will be immensely loyal. I think that's one of the things that's missing in sections of the A.B.C. now and that's loyalty to the organisation. I admire very much the loyalty that exists in Channel Nine. Different people have their different ideas about Kerry Packer's organisation but there's not getting away from it — he

inspires a loyalty amongst his staff which I find admirable.

"Everyone has their grizzles and groans — I mean those that can, do; and those that can't, grizzle about it. You can't keep blaming others. You have to take some of the blame and responsibility yourself and go out and do it. The world's full of whingers and the fun people — are the people who have fun lives and that sort of thing — are the doers not the whingers. Find a way around the problems, either go through them or over them or something, but let's not worry about the problems — let's get on with tomorrow not today."

"Tomorrow" for Richard Carleton means doing what he does now even better.

"I'm reasonably contented with much of my lot. I think, round the corner in my sort of journalism is the greater use of satellites, exploiting them. I think satellites are now less than \$2000 a bite, depending on where they are coming from and that price will come down quite rapidly. That's not big bikkies in television. There are many places in the world — I don't say most — but many many many places in the world now where you can figuratively if not literally just fly in, sit down and go live on Australian television. Which is a mighty change from the days when we were shooting 40 foot rolls of film that ran two minutes and twenty seconds. You had to allow two hours for the processing and a lifetime for the editing."



"I won't stay in television forever. Phillip Adams, I rode with him in a car the other day and he said 'What are you doing?' I said 'Well, you know, I'm doing stuff on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday.' And he said, 'I know that, but what are you doing with the rest of your life.' I said, 'That keeps the rent paid.' He said, 'Yes, but you're at the most productive period of your life now.' And in many respects that's quite right. When you reach forty the world's prepared to accept you as being responsible and all the rest of it. You're not over the hill and so it can be a very productive period if one's going to put energy into life. The easy thing to do is to get on a slide and keep your eyes glued on 65 and 45 superannuation units or whatever the hell it is and end up being a nobody. I want to get out and do some more and harder work."



WITH GERARD WHEELER

Australia's bumper sticker industry is booming. Most car owners seem unable to resist the temptation to deface the sparkling chrome of their bumper bars and feel obligated to slap on a piece of adhesive paper espousing the virtues of their favourite radio station, football team or holiday spot. Slogans on these miniature billboards range from the asinine to the absurd. The award for the most puerile comment, however, must go

to a sticker adhering to a sparkling new Telstar parked near the ANU Arts Centre recently. In emerald helvetica were the words, "Childcare . . . A Right, Not a Privilege".

This comment is typical of the confusion that exists between property and indulgence. The former is veritable and can be enforced while the latter is merely a grant and is little more than a luxury. Subsidized childcare is not a form of property right and claims to the contrary should be rejected. The Labor Government obviously doesn't share this view. It would seem that it is official ALP policy that there be a creche on every streetcorner. Mrs Ros Kelly, Canberra's local member was convinced, for example, that provision must be made in Australia's new Federal Parliament for a child minding centre.

The Government has failed to consider that the Australian taxpayer foots the bill for this indulgence. Those who have already raised children and are earning a moderate income are now expected to foster another generation of children through their taxes. And it must stop. The responsibility for bringing up children does not belong to the state, it rests with families. Those bumper sticking individuals who advocate subsidized childcare are shirking their responsibilities as parents.

Yet another gross abuse of students' compulsory union fees is that the ANU Students' Association spends \$3,500 annually on childcare. It is totally hypocritical for the left's rent-a-crowd to argue against tuition fees and yet to waste student money on a purpose borne out of some ideological hallucination.

At times one wonders whether some of these people are capable of raising children with any semblance of responsibility. A classic example of their lack of parental aptitude was shown at the recent Palm Sunday Peace March. Canberra's media showed a large number of urchins aimlessly wandering over Commonwealth Avenue Bridge. And their mothers? They were holding banners and placards against the American alliance. Another group of mites were seen to be frolicking naked on the lawns of Parliament House with no parents in sight. The privilege of Australians to demonstrate is defended but parents should have the common decency not to bring along their impressionable youngsters with the rest of their baggage. At such an age children should be learning to love their country. Maybe they could start by cleaning off a few bumper stickers.



# THE WORST IS YET TO COME



by John Leard

After several weeks in Argentina, I am utterly convinced that the experiences of that country have one basic message for Australia — a country cannot live beyond its means indefinitely without getting into serious economic trouble.

Let me tell you something of the history of Argentina.

Few people realise that in 1930 Argentina was the seventh most prosperous country in the world, on an equal footing with Canada. This was the result of fifty years of stable civilian government which encouraged free enterprise and developed the country's rural and industrial bases. It had developed strong export markets, particularly in Europe.

At the end of the Second World War, Argentina was still in a strong position as it was virtually uninvolved in that war, having declared war on Germany two days before the war finished.

In 1946, this seventh most prosperous country in the world elected to power one Juan Peron.

Peron was a socialist who modelled his government on that which Mussolini developed in Italy in the 1920's and 1930's. It was a Fascist type of Socialism. He established a Corporate State philosophy whereby big business, big unions, big bureaucracy and big government joined together to run the country.

Amongst other things, Peron proved to be an economic madman. Large sections of industry which were not compliant to the Corporate State philosophy were nationalised; there was an enormous explosion in the size of the bureaucracy; the trade unions, which were Peron's power base, were virtually placed above the law; government spending spiralled out of control and there were very high levels of inflation.

If some of these features of the Argentine economy have a familiar ring with some of the things that have happened in Australia in the last fifteen years, I suggest that the reader is not greatly mistaken.

As a result of Peron's policies, Argentina found its economy in ruins and it became an economic laughing stock of the world. Social chaos followed, inflation spiralled to a record 480% in one year and its currency was debased inasmuch as an article which cost 1 peso in 1950 would have cost almost 1,000 pesos in 1975.

During and since Peron's rule, Argentina has got well and truly on the debt treadmill. The country has continuously borrowed from the International Banking community who have, once again, loaned their depositors' money to a Nation that is, to all intents and pur-

poses, bankrupt and has no capacity to repay any of its debts. The Argentine has recurring crises in its international indebtedness and invariably the banks agree to lend them more money each year simply to pay the previous year's interest.

annum, per month). Interest rates are as high as 10-12% per month (not per annum, per month). With interest rates at these levels you can imagine the despair of young people who find it utterly impossible to establish their first home.

As a result of these high interest rates in the Argentine there is virtually no investment in real wealth-creating assets. People invest in financial assets or in speculative assets.

It struck me that we have already seen this trend commencing in Australia. Many people in our country find it more profitable to invest in Government securities at 14% per annum or to speculate on the Stock Market rather than invest in new, wealth-creating assets.

In the Argentine this flight into financial and speculative assets has virtually reached plague proportions. I talked with one businessman who had sold off half of his businesses and invested the proceeds in the money market — and had earned 139% on that money in the past year. As he said, "There is no way that I could have achieved that return by investing in my business."

There is, not surprisingly, a large "Black Economy" and there are two exchange rates — the official rate offered by the banks and the unofficial rate which is about 25-30% higher than the official rate.

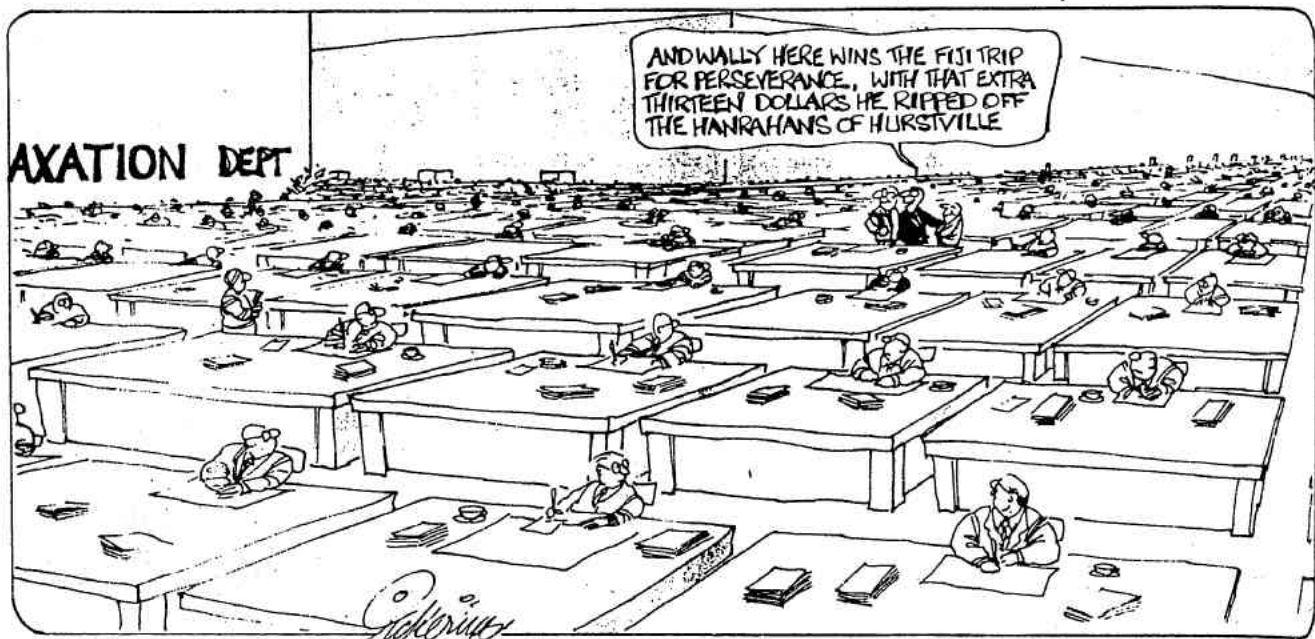
Argentina's international debt has now reached 58 billion US dollars. This debt is of catastrophic proportions as far as the Argentine economy is concerned but, surprisingly, it is less than Australia's international debt and, as such, poses a real warning to us.

I spoke to many young people in Argentina and found them, on the whole, to be disillusioned and angry. It was incredibly sad to see that they had no hope for their country's future or for their own future. Those young people who are able to do so, leave the country (i.e. they vote with their feet) and they migrate to the US, Canada, Spain or France. This constitutes a significant "Brain Drain" as the more talented young people leave the country.

In their anger, the young people of Argentina do not blame Juan Peron or the Generals or the civilian politicians for the problems. They blame their parents. They ask the questions, "Why did you let this happen to our country and why didn't you take a stand?"

I believe there is a tremendous lesson for Australia in this attitude of the young. We are leaving our children an economic mess and a tremendous burden of debt. I believe that even today our young people could say to us in Australia — "You are the most selfish, greedy and uncaring generation in the history of Australia. Why didn't you stop the politicians, the trade union leaders and the bureaucrats from ruining our country?"

I think that it is instructive that Argentina's economic problems were brought about by an economic madman (Juan Peron). In the Argentina people initially said "It can't happen here". Before they knew it, it was too late and there was nothing they could do about their problems. The situation in the Argentine today, in my opinion is completely hopeless.



Since the overthrow of Peron, the Argentine has experienced governments of both a civilian and a military nature. Despite the best efforts of these governments, they have never been able to wind back the level of government spending nor wrest effective control of the running of the country from the bureaucracy.

One businessman said to me, "Despite all the efforts of succeeding governments, we are still really 'in our fortieth year of Peron Government' ". Nothing seemed to have changed much and the Peron policies were still in place. It reminded me of a comment I made in 1985 when I said that Australia was "in its thirteenth year of Whitlam Government".

The situation in the Argentine has "improved" — to use their own words. At the present time inflation has been reduced to 7% per month (not per

Perhaps the most stupid economic policy I came across in Argentina was the fact that they had a 30% tax on exports. It must surely be one of the classic pieces of socialist stupidity in all of the world. It is almost incomprehensible that a nation so indebted to the rest of the world and so critically in need of export income could consider such a crippling tax.

I believe that the situation in Argentina has particular relevance to Australia in a number of ways.

Argentina is living testimony to the fact that a first-class economy (remember they were No. 7 in the world) can degenerate into a Banana Republic (Argentina is now between No. 50 and 60 in the world). It stands as a stark warning to Australia that a country cannot live beyond its means indefinitely.

We should remind ourselves that our present problems in Australia started with the economic madness of the Whitlam years and has continued as a result of our living beyond our means with disastrous economic policies for the last fifteen years. People in Australia, unfortunately, are still saying "It can't happen here".

Our problems are very significant but they are not as hopeless as they are in Argentina. It is late in Australia, but it is not too late if we act quickly to remedy our problems.

If we continue to believe "It can't happen here", the situation in this country will soon be helpless too.

NOTE: See the full page advertisement in this issue with details of John Leard's latest book "Australia the worst is yet to come".



# Australians Must Speak Out

by CHARLES COPEMAN

**The most important issue facing Australia today is the unrelenting growth of government, and the consequent and deliberate diminution of the rights of the individual Australian.**

Why is it that in the last 12 years, government expenditure as a proportion of Gross Domestic Product has leapt from 31 per cent to 45 per cent? Why has government employment leapt from 20 per cent to approaching 30 per cent? Why has the national debt risen from \$12 billion to more than \$80 billion?

The present growth of governments is just a form of indulgence we have allowed ourselves through the increased affluence resulting from technological developments and capital investment.

This indulgence has been carried far beyond our capacity to afford it. Like a cancer it now feeds on the vital organs of the nation. We have in fact two nations, one consuming the other. The productive nation tries to get on with its business of supplying goods and services to be marketed where there is a demand and at a price that is competitive. The unproductive nation consumes at our expense, and produces nothing but restrictive regulations and lofty lectures about the need for us to be more productive and more innovative; to restructure and rationalise; be more capital intensive with high technology, and yet be more labour intensive, and so on and on — ad nauseum!

The initiative for government growth comes from people who have not been trained to do what the Average Australian would regard as a real job, and who choose to spend their energies in a power game all of their own. These people see life largely in terms of buying votes with the voters' own tax-money — surely the greatest confidence trick of all time! Let me give you just a few examples of the power game.

The first rule is that the more people that depend directly on the government, either as employees or on welfare, the more voters will be less inclined to vote for a party that tries to stand out against big government.

Secondly, the huge and ever-increasing government expenditures in the fields of transport, communications, housing, public works, education, health and welfare can be used to keep the suppliers, from the non-government sector, highly dependent on the growth of government. The more parliamentary pyramids in Canberra and Roman circuses in Sydney, built with taxpayers' money, the more power the governments have over the businesses that naturally want the work to build them.

Groups which are seen to be financially powerful — principally multinational companies and resource companies — must be given plenty of political stick for being foreign-controlled or for being against the motherhood issues of the environment or aborigines — regardless of the facts or the merits. If they are foreign they dare not reply publicly. If they are local they may not dare to jeopardise their dependence on the increasingly discretionary powers of governments over resource allocations.

Groups which are seen to be strongly independent — like farmers and doctors and independent schools — require special treatment. Doctors possess that ultimate power that no politician can have in a civilised democracy — power over life and death. They must be curbed, regardless of the consequences to the health system. Independent schools are a constant affront in an education system that is otherwise fully dependent on the expedient whims of government funding. The present strong increase in popularity of independent schools, at a time when student numbers and government subsidies are both decreasing, is perhaps the most encouraging example of the reassertion of individual rights in our society today.



Experts in all fields must be disparaged because they possess independence based on their objective expertise. Professionalism and the pursuit of excellence must be everywhere under attack as elitist and the source of rival power groupings.

The cornerstones of the power game are of course wages and taxes. Centralise the wage decisions and keep on increasing wages without regard to capacity to pay the increases. Introduce new taxes and increase all taxes frequently. Like puppets we are expected to dance on their strings.

In the mineral industry the most evident example of this power game, which is so desperate to hold back individual initiative in this country, is the nuclear embargo. By exploiting the fear of nuclear weapons, the grossly exaggerated issue of storage of nuclear wastes, and the Aboriginal land rights question, Australian governments have practically taken this country right out of a major area of new business growth which could have benefitted all Australians. Already more than 13 per cent of the entire world's electric power is generated in nuclear power plants. The European Economic Community is up to 30 per cent, with France at 59 per cent. Japan is at 23 per cent, and the U.S.A. is at 14 per cent. Altogether 28 countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain have 345 nuclear power stations in operation, and some 180 are under construction. By the year 2000 France will reach 85 per cent and Japan 39 per cent.

For that market Australia did have 25 per cent of the western world's economic uranium reserves, but large new discoveries in Canada have more than 30 times the grade of our best known ores. We now don't even know what uranium or grades may lie undiscovered in Australia because there is little point in looking! The Australian public has been deliberately misinformed on this issue, and Australia has largely missed the boat!

The cost structure of this country is now so deliberately distorted that many of our vital export industries are critically imperilled at the time of our greatest need for strong exports.

Can you tell me why we should feel any sense of moral obligation at all to pay taxes to a government whose present leaders and principal supporters, by their strikes, stand-over tactics, wage demands, and bloated unproductive government expenditures, have halved the value of Australia? And they want us to feel obliged to pay them more taxes to pay for more and more politicians and public servants whose only purpose is to make more laws and regulations which stop us from getting on with earning the export revenues to pay the foreign debt and to pay the taxes!

They are beset by that absurd arrogance which comes from ignorance — in this case it is ignorance of the infinite opportunities presented for our lives as they have evolved within the freedom of western democracy.

But we do not have to stand by helplessly mesmerised as we watch Australia slip inevitably further down the ladder of international competitiveness due to this present combination of crippling levels of foreign debt, budget deficits, government growth, record interest rates and de facto trade union dictatorship.

Australians have been pioneers in so many fields, not least in genuine democracy. Democracy means "government by the people" — that is — "our government" — not "my government" as we now hear continually from our leader.

The most important democratic freedom we still possess is freedom of speech. That freedom should find its greatest expression in what we call the "media" — the television, radio, newspapers and magazines of this country. That is where this debate should be given public expression. That is where we can persuade the Australian people that we need not continue on this present disastrous course. To change course to the degree required can only be done if the real individual Australians in all walks of life speak out what they genuinely think.

**ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING  
of the  
ANU STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION**

**6pm Thursday 30 April  
Union Bistro**

**To be followed by a General Meeting  
where a motion to amend the  
Constitution will be moved**

Original Constitutional Provision:

5. (1) Subject to this Constitution —
- (a) Management and control of the Association is vested, jointly and severally, in the SRC and in general meetings, but
  - (b) the SRC shall not act contrary to a resolution passed by a general meeting.

(2) General meetings have exclusive power to determine the policy of the Association, and any motion passed by the SRC purporting to determine the policy of the Association is void.

(3) Nothing in sub-section (2) prevents the SRC making recommendations on questions of policy to a general meeting.

(4) Subject to this section and to this Constitution, the President may take such action as she considers necessary in the interests of the Association, provided that such action

- (a) is consistent with the policy of the Association, and
- (b) is reported, unless a matter of routine administration, to a general meeting at the first opportunity.

**MOVED: Odgers/Phelps**

This meeting of the Students' Association resolves that the Constitution be amended in the following manner:

Subsections 1, 2 and 3 of Section 5 are to be amended so as to now read:

- s. 5 (1) Subject to this Constitution —
- (a) Management and control of the Association is vested, jointly and severally, in the SRC and in general meetings, but
  - (b) Neither the SRC nor an ordinary general meeting shall act contrary to a resolution passed by a special general meeting
  - (c) An ordinary general meeting

shall not act contrary to a resolution passed by the SRC

- (2) Subject to S. 5 (1)(b) and (c), ordinary general meetings may all determine the policy of the Association
- (3) Where there is a conflict between motions passed by Ordinary general meetings, the SRC or special general meeting:
  - (a) A resolution passed by a special general meeting shall prevail over a resolution passed by the SRC or an ordinary general meeting.
  - (b) A resolution of the SRC shall prevail over a resolution passed by an ordinary general meeting.



# PEACE MOVEMENT CONDEMNED

Despite considerable agitation over the last seven years, it would appear that the peace movement is no closer to achieving its main goal — ending the ANZUS Alliance with the United States.

According to Andrew Mack, head of the Peace Studies Centre here at ANU, the peace marches such as occurred around Australia recently on Palm Sunday, "are no longer making an impact" (SMH 11/4/87 p.9). Support for the American Alliance amongst the Australian people has *not* decreased — indeed, Mack says his research shows "that support for . . . ANZUS . . . has NEVER BEEN STRONGER HERE . . . . Peace movement demands to close down the bases or stop nuclear ship visits threaten an alliance which most Australians see as being vital for their security."

Just why is this happening? Let me suggest what I think are two reasons why Australians support the Alliance, as well as being two excellent justifications for our close defence relationship with the United States.

The first is that Australia *must* defend itself in some way. Even most people marching on Palm Sunday would agree with that simple proposition. But *how* are we going to do it? One way is the path we have chosen since WWII — allying ourselves to a great and influential power who has the capacity to defend us: the United States. By simply being allied to the most powerful country in the world we DETER any POTENTIAL AGGRESSOR; and should we actually be attacked (a remote possibility; but a possibility nevertheless) the likely intervention of the US on our behalf would guarantee our safety.

You might think that there's very little chance of Australia being threatened militarily in the near future. And you would be right. But the Falklands War did show that wars can erupt in the most sudden and unlikely of circumstances. It also showed that the

will intervene on the side of a western democracy, even where it has little directly to gain — American logistical support in that conflict was crucial in ensuring the British victory. And don't forget that our other neighbour Indonesia has more Muslims than any other country in the world. Should an Islamic Fundamentalist regime ever gain power there we would have very severe security problems.

But we can choose another path — the Swedish path of neutrality. To do so we would have to develop a defence force capable *by itself* of defending our shores. If there is one clear fact in the Peace Debate, it is that our current armed forces are totally *incapable* of defending this huge country. Andrew Mack suggests that if we were to attempt to "do" a "Sweden" we would have to spend three times more of our GDP on defence. To put that in a form which every student of this university would understand, *we would probably not have had enough money, as a society, to build the Australian National University had we decided to go neutral*



at the end of WWII and cast off the Americans! Countless hospitals and schools would not have been built because of our need to spend more on defence.

The second reason for the Alliance which I would like to discuss is the invaluable role it plays in curbing Soviet expansionism. As every resident of Afghanistan, Poland, Ethiopia and a host of other countries knows, the Soviets have both a very unpleasant manner of oppressing those unlucky enough to be under their control, and a very unpleasant habit of trying to spread that form of oppression to every part of the globe. If 800 million Chinese are bloody scared of the Soviets, then so should 15 million Australians. By allying ourselves with the Americans, and by providing early warning bases for their nuclear deterrent, we play our part in keeping the Soviets *out* of the region. And that can only be a good thing!

Many of those who march on Palm Sunday might criticise this article as being too pessimistic. I disagree. I think that while there are countries in our region and throughout the world who have no respect for individual freedom and tolerance and who are totally opposed to our form of democracy, we have an *obligation* to defend ourselves. But I too have a dream: that one day the barrier between East and West, between dictatorship and democracy, between intolerance and freedom, will be broken down. That a day will come when East and West will reach out to each other, and *all people* will embrace freedom, democracy and tolerance.

But till that wonderful day comes, we must remain strong and vigilant, free and secure, proud of our country, our democracy, our freedom and our peace. And *that* is why we need ANZUS!

Kendall Odgers



## FABRIQUE John Taylor

Thought for the Time Being:

A socialist is someone who has nothing and wants to share it with everybody.  
(quote from 'Madame X')

Dear Reader, you may have noticed that a certain upheaval has taken place within the Students' Association. If you did, then naughty! you should have concentrated more on your studies: *That's* what you pay (if you did pay) your HEAC for. A word to the wise for those who boycotted — bloody well pay now and stop living off the compliance of others — parasites!

However, we shall take a brief squint at the recent palaver within that haven of democracy, the SA. I am not going to sally forth into the rights and wrongs of Phelpsagate but a few comments might be helpful, if not just to put the issue in its correct perspective. In the first place, I would like to suggest that

politics, being the most disreputable profession in history; if a person is an incompetent would it not be more feasible to keep them in there and make an absolute pig's ear of the whole affair and thus do the damage on their own. This would leave all those with delusions of adequacy to pursue normal lives as students: populating the bar, meaningful interfaces and getting an education.

Nuff said. We now turn to the Left's stalwart defence of the innocuous Kate Andrews. Now it's all well and good for one side to stick up for its leader, fine Brownie points, tea with the vicar and all that; but a little more substance might have helped. The posters smothering the halls, walls and hallowed corridors of this campus contained little more than neo-Marxist, holier-than-thou, literary diarrhoea. Apart from that, the naivete was just too much. Since when, I ask, has politics been a clean business? The censure motion is a time honoured

weapon in western democracy to put the wind up the opposition. OK, they backfire but 'tis interesting to see the reaction of the other side. The posters of the left were not funny so much as touching really. If that is the best they can do to counter-stack an SA meeting then, regardless of the numbers, it's time to get onto the second reader.

Kate herself ought not to be so naive. Her description of the SA meetings will give this writer endless joy. If ever I need cheering up I'll just recall that immortal phrase "General meetings are not just a game for self indulgent wanking egotists" (sic) Funny, they have been precisely that for years, from both Left and Right. Still, the Left did a ripper job eulogizing Kate's fight for students' rights in the anti-fees debate. All well and good Gentle Reader, but judging from what has transpired,

it could be argued that little political nous is required to orchestrate a clan chanting

Lead: "What do we want?"  
Chorus: "FREE EDUCATION!"  
Lead: When do we want it?"  
Chorus: "NOW!"

which was followed by interminable speeches which were essentially preaching to the converted. Furthermore, there's the evidence of the same (funnily enough) rabble chorus producing clicking noises alien to a moot of cicadas in the throes of a simultaneous orgasm. No wonder Sen. Ryan refused to see representatives of the Free Education Collective Union (FECU). I certainly wouldn't and either would you, no of course not.

\* the word is 'Egoists'.



Young people of Australia ....  
**READ THE BOOK THAT  
 TEACHERS AND LECTURERS  
 ARE TOO FRIGHTENED TO  
 RECOMMEND.**



*John Leard's book  
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- Read the facts (not the fairy stories) about the Australian economy - contains dozens of practical and positive suggestions.
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- Read the book most Australian politicians are too frightened, too lazy or too gutless to read.
- Commended by trade union officials, small business, schoolteachers, lawyers, farmers, rank and file trade unionists, bankers, accountants, even a few politicians and bureaucrats ... such a wide cross section of Australian people cannot be wrong.
- Use the book to keep honest those teachers and lecturers who would fill your heads with socialist nonsense and Marxist fairy stories.
- Use the book to support those teachers and lecturers who are trying to teach you the truth.
- Ask for a copy to put in your school library.
- Parents and teachers, purchase your copies also.

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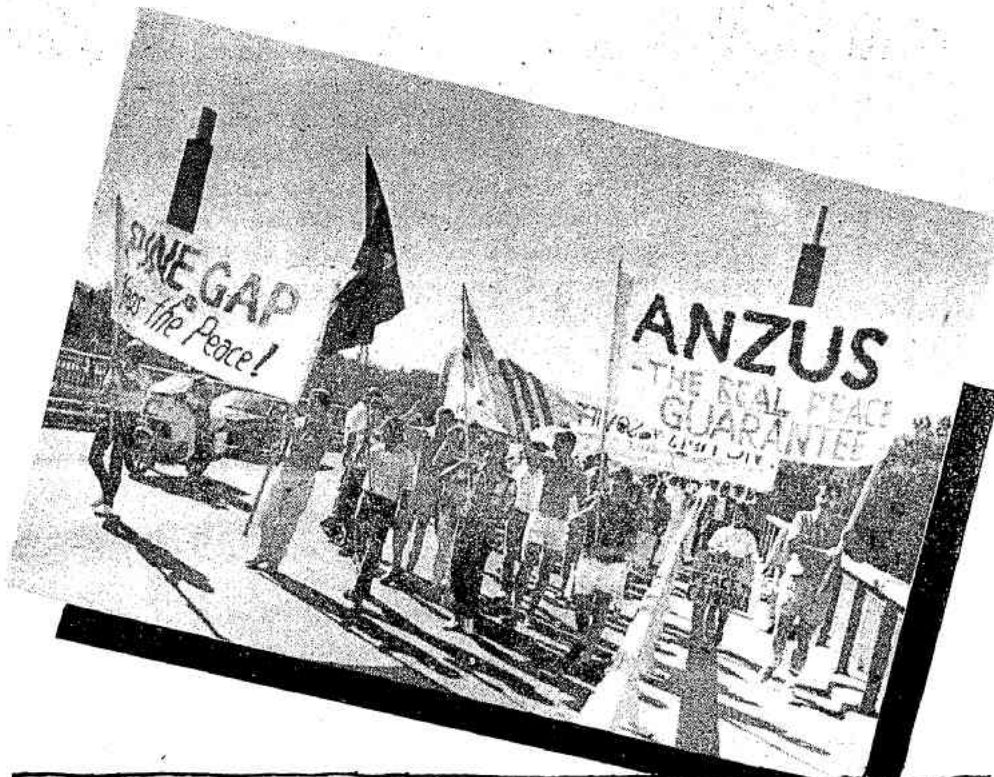
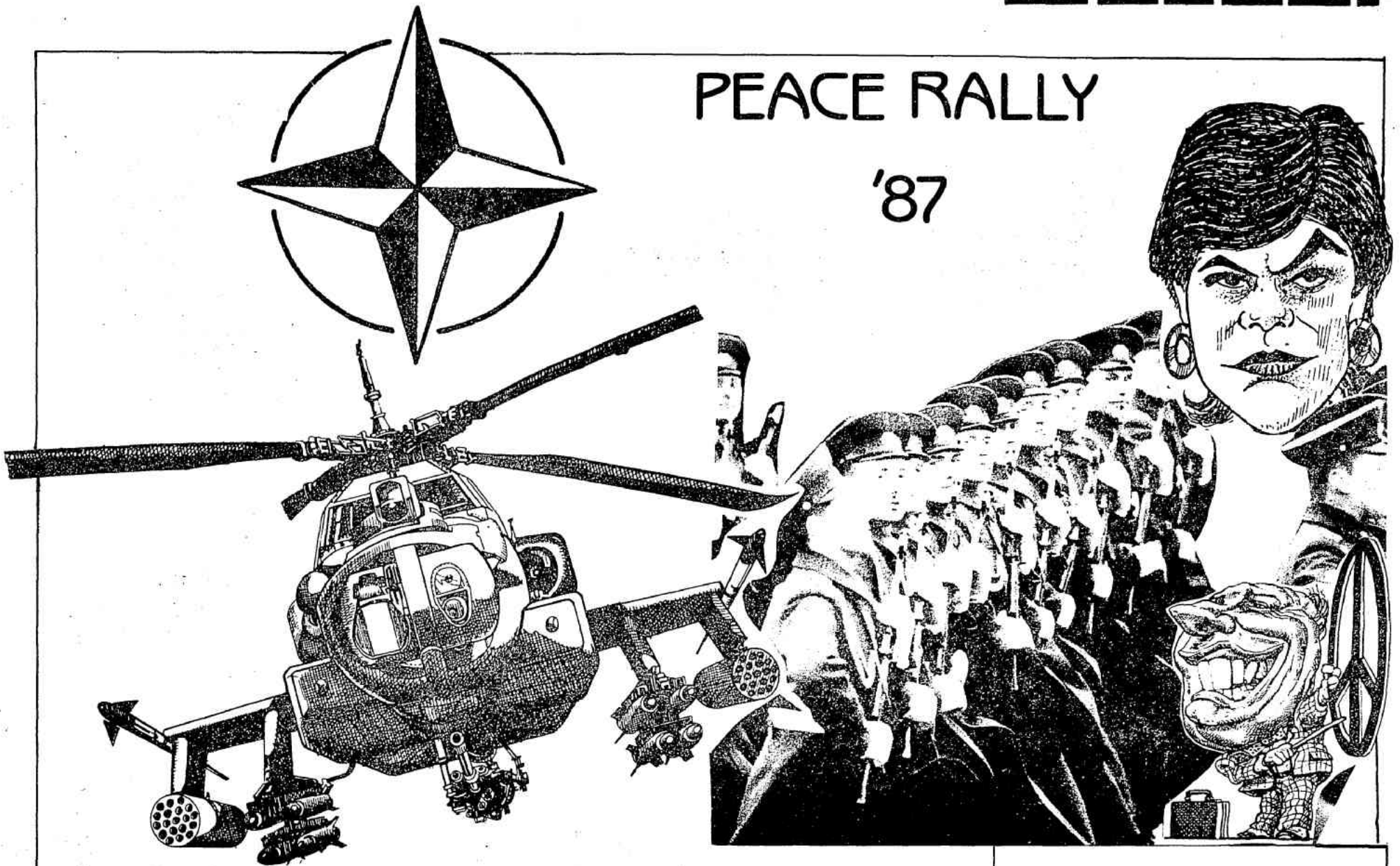
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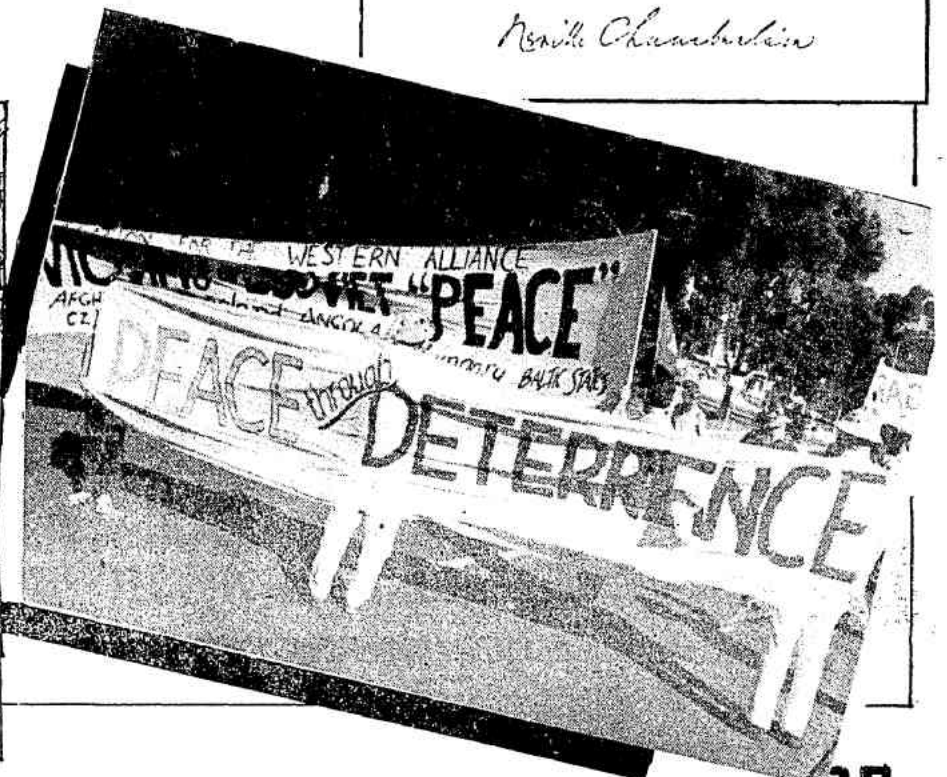


PEACE IN OUR TIME



Join my followers in the Peace March

*Neville Chamberlain*



Monday 27 April 1987.





# The Nuclear Winter Fraud

THE END of the world isn't what it used to be. "Nuclear Winter," the theory that a nuclear exchange as small as 100 megatons, in addition to its lethal primary effects, would usher in a life-extinguishing arctic night, has been laid to rest in the semantic potter's field alongside the "Energy Crisis" and the "Population Bomb." Cause of death: notorious lack of scientific integrity. Like those other once-vaunted theories, "Nuclear Winter" has unraveled under scrutiny. Yet not so long ago policy analysts took it so seriously that there is reason to examine its brief life more closely. What emerges from such an examination is a politicization of science sufficient to result in the advertising of mere conjecture as hard fact.

In 1982 a question arose within the inner circle of the world's disarmament activists: Could the moral force of Jonathan Schell's eloquent call to lay down arms, *The Fate of the Earth*, be transformed into a scientific imperative? Psychological strategists of the peace movement were not content with the fearsome carnage of a nuclear holocaust. They had identified "psychic numbing" and "denial" as impediments to mass demands for disarmament, and needed something new to dramatize the horrors of nuclear war. (Dr. Robert Jay Lifton, of the Nobel Prize-winning peace group Physicians for Social Responsibility, originally characterized the "Nuclear Winter" hypothesis as "an imaginative resource.")

A 1982 special issue of the Swedish environmental science journal *Ambio*, inspired, according to its editor, by the work of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), considered the broad range of environmental consequences of nuclear war. The preamble to that issue stated, "There is a considerable fear for the continued existence of man on Earth: in the end that fear, as it gains momentum, may well lead to more effective measures for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe." Ralph K. White put it more succinctly in his book *The Fearful Warriors*: "Horror is needed. The peace movement cannot do without it."

The *Ambio* special issue focused the attention of several foundation executives and concerned peace activists on the environmental consequences of nuclear war, but its limited circulation and scholarly tone did little to evoke a mass response of the sort needed to effect a major change in strategic doctrine. One of its articles, however, "Twilight at Noon" by Drs. Paul Crutzen and Stephen Birks, contained the seed of what would become "Nuclear Winter."

Russell Peterson, president of the Audubon Society brought the subject to the attention of Robert Scrivner of the Rockefeller Family Fund. Scrivner, together with Henry P. Kendall Foundation vice president Robert Allen, convened an ad hoc consortium of foundations seeking to promote disarmament as well as scientific organizations with a bent for political activism. Cornell astrophysicist and media personality Carl Sagan began organizing a scientific advisory board that drew heavily on the existing network of activists heading such organizations as the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS), Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), and the Federation of American Scientists (FAS).

Because so much depended on them, the assumptions embodied in the TTAPS software merit a closer look. Instead of a planet with continents and oceans, the TTAPS model postulated a featureless bone-dry billiard ball. Instead of nights and days, it postulated twenty-four hour sunlight at one-third strength. Instead of realistic smoke emissions, it simply dumped a ten-mile thick soot cloud into the atmosphere instantly. The model dealt with such complications as east, west, winds, sunrise, sunset, and patchy clouds in a stunningly elegant manner—they were ignored. When later computer models incorporated these real-world elements, the flat black sky of TTAPS fell apart into a pale, broken shadow that traveled less far and dissipated more quickly. One factor alone—the moderating effect of the oceans—turned out to be the source of a 200 percent error.

One way to see the TTAPS model is as a long series of conjectures: if this much smoke goes up, if it is this dense, if it moves like this, and so on. This series of coin tosses was represented to laymen and scientists alike as a "sophisticated one-dimensional model"—a usage that is oxymoronic.

For while there might be a "clear possibility" of a dire outcome on any single one of the model's forty elements, the improbability of so long a string of coin tosses all coming up heads is astronomical.

To the limitations of the software were added those of the data. It was an unknown and very complex topic, the hard data was scant, and the rush to publication did not allow time to clarify the true values of the many variables involved.<sup>2</sup> There was no certain knowledge on which to depend, so guess-timates prevailed. Not only were these educated guesses rampant throughout the process, but it was deemed prudent, given the gravity of the subject, to lean toward the worst-case end of the spectrum for dozens of the numbers involved. Political considerations subliminally skewed the model away from natural history; in retrospect, the politics in question can be seen as those of the nuclear freeze movement. No one who is familiar with the malleability of computer projections can be surprised at the result: For an apparently "robust" range of variations, the projected odds on the end of the world ensuing from the scenario in question came out to be better than even money, when it should have been as much of a longshot as being dealt a straight flush in poker.<sup>3</sup> It was thus, by worst-case analysis run amok, that researchers arrived at the theory presented to the policy community as a hard scientific fact—something so portentous as to militate for a profound revision in strategic doctrine and a transformation of global politics.

### Behind Closed Doors

"THE QUESTION of peer review is essential. That is why we have delayed so long in the publication of these dire results," said Carl Sagan in the fall of 1983. But instead of going through the ordinary peer-review process, the mathematical results of the TTAPS study had been conveyed by Sagan and his colleagues to a chosen few at a closed meeting convened in April 1983. Despite Sagan's claim of responsible delay, before this peculiar review process had even begun a public relations firm had been hired to publicize the results. The Kendall Foundation paid an \$80,000 retainer to Por-

ter-Novelli Associates of Washington, D.C., in advance of the meeting and half a year before any scientific publication of the concept. More money was spent in the 1984 fiscal year on video and advertising than on doing the science.

The meeting did not go as Sagan presumably had hoped; most participants interviewed by this author do not describe the reception accorded the "Nuclear Winter" theory as cordial or consensual, and Sagan himself has repeatedly refused to release the meeting's transcript. According to Professor Kosta Tsipis of MIT, even one of the Russian scientists at the meeting said, "You guys are fools. You can't use mathematical models like these to model perturbed states of the atmosphere. You're playing with toys."

With funding for popularizing assured, however, the show went on, with a \$100,000 conference on The World after Nuclear War in Washington, D.C., at the end of October.<sup>4</sup> Simultaneous with the conference came the public premiere of the "Nuclear Winter" hypothesis—an October 30, 1983, article by Carl Sagan in the Sunday supplement *Parade*. The peer review process at *Parade* presumably consisted in the contributing editor conversing with the writer, perhaps while shaving—Sagan is both.

Over a month later, the TTAPS results at last appeared, as the leader in *Science* magazine (December 23, 1983). This is the very apex of scholarly publication, a place and format customarily reserved for a review article expounding a mature addition to an existing scientific discipline—one that has withstood the testing of its data and hypotheses by reproducible experiments recorded in the peer-reviewed literature. Yet the many complex variables necessary to operate the model and the uncertainty associated with the value of each element operated upon by the software were not explicitly set forth in the text of that article. They were instead reduced to one line amongst pages of footnotes accompanying the text—a line that said, simply, "In preparation." Which is where the critical details have remained, languishing in unpublished obscurity ever since. The TTAPS "Nuclear Winter" business, from its inception until the transfer of the computer codes into the custody of the Pentagon in 1986, remained a closed shop, one that tended to dismiss any criticism, however valid, as envelope-back nitpicking by the insufficiently informed. It is no small irony that the TTAPS software became accessible to the scientific community at large only by virtue of its arrival in the assistant secretary of defense's office; the government, unlike scientists, is obligated by the Freedom of Information Act to turn over the software to all comers.

One week after the publication of the TTAPS article in *Science*, another article—"Nuclear War and Climatic Catastrophe"—appeared under Sagan's name, in *Foreign Affairs* (Winter 1983-84). This opened the policy debate, with Sagan arguing that, because of the TTAPS results, "What is urgently required is a coherent, mutually agreed upon, long-term policy for dramatic reductions in nuclear armaments. . . ."

From the start, respected scientists in the field have remained skeptical, if not derisive, of the claims made by the "Nuclear Winter" theorists. These critical voices were not heard, however, because—like studios releasing a movie without prior screenings to avoid



negative reviews—Sagan and his colleagues took their case over the heads of their fellow scientists, directly to the public at large. When the research was criticized, it was not in public forums and television studios, but in scientific journals and private discussions. Many scientists were reluctant to speak out, perhaps for fear of being labeled reactionaries, hawks, or closet Strangeloves—acolytes of “nuclearism,” the new cult that Dr. Lifton claims to have discovered. For example, Nobel laureate physicist Freeman Dyson was critical in early 1984, but elected to keep his views off the record (they were subsequently made known by a congressional aide). As he put it, “It’s [TTAPS] an absolutely atrocious piece of science but I quite despair of setting the public record straight. I think I’m going to chicken out on this one: Who wants to be accused of being in favor of nuclear war?”

Any atmospheric scientist daring to rock the boat three years ago faced both the formidable uncertainties of the science and the social pressure of his peers: It was the Oppenheimer-Teller confrontation revisited. Nuclear ethics had transcended doing the science. Most of the intellectual tools and computational power necessary to demolish TTAPS’s bleak vision were already around in 1983; the will, and perhaps the courage, to utilize them was lacking. From leading scientists one heard something of a refrain: “You know, I really don’t think these guys know what they’re talking about” (Nobel laureate, physicist Richard Feynman, Cal. Tech.); “They stacked the deck” (Professor Michael McElroy, Harvard); and, after a journalist’s caution against four-letter words, “‘Humbug’ is six” (Professor Jonathan Katz, George Washington University). But while all this was going on behind the cordial and collegial marble facade of the National Academy of Sciences, quite different trends were evident in print and on television.

*Physics Meets Advertising*

FROM 1984 to the present, despite the appearance of four generations of more realistic calculations, the unrevised time/temperature curves of the “Nuclear Winter,” as originally set forth in *Science* and *Foreign Affairs*, have been widely reprinted, often with Sagan’s complete text, and usually without strong caveats about uncertainty. These artifacts of calculation are cited as the final word on the subject in volumes dealing with everything from the philosophy of deterrence to climate change. No fewer than six books in the “Nuclear Winter” genre have appeared, often to lavish reviews in international foreign policy journals and the press. A popular review of *The Cold and the Dark* in the *San Francisco Chronicle* went so far as to claim that it could be “the most important book ever published,” with greater effect on human history than “the Odyssey, the Bible, the Koran, or the collected works of William Shakespeare.”

*A Deaf Ear to Good News*

IF THERE was a ready audience for the initial TTAPS results, scant attention was paid to the scientific work that followed. While the apocalyptic scenario played to audiences worldwide, a series of unheralded and completely unpublicized studies started to appear at scientific conferences and in the learned journals—studies that, piece by piece, started to fill in the blanks in the climate modeling process.

By June 1986 it was over: In the Summer 1986 *Foreign Affairs*, National Center for Atmospheric Research (NCAR) scientists Starley Thompson and Stephen Schneider declared, “On scientific grounds the global apocalyptic conclusions of the initial nuclear winter hypothesis can now be relegated to a vanishingly low level of probability.”

While a new paradigm of chiaroscuro clouds and cool spells on a local scale was forming within the tiny community of atmospheric scientists, the larger world of the international scientific establishment began to announce the results of the first generations of interdisciplinary ecological and climatological studies that had followed the TTAPS results. These were eagerly awaited by the press, which was not to be disappointed.

Few journalists examined critically these ecological meta-models. Most merely perused the media materials that preceded publication. Science journalists (especially those who had been lobbied by the subject’s advocates) proceeded to inform the public that things were looking worse than ever. Bold headlines carried casualty estimates that ran into the proverbial “billions and billions.” The process culminated in the reception afforded to both the reports of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) and the Scientific Committee on Problems of the Environment (SCOPE).<sup>10</sup> Both reports stressed the uncertainties that plagued the calculations then and now. The NAS report, “The Effects on the Atmosphere of a Major Nuclear Exchange,” while depending on calculations performed by Turco et al., scrupulously excluded the expression “Nuclear Winter” from its 193 pages of sober text, but the report’s press release was prefaced “Nuclear Winter ‘Clear Possibility.’”<sup>11</sup> Sagan construed the reports to constitute an endorsement of the theory. The response of television and most major newspapers seemed to validate his reading: In September 1985 the *Washington Post* carried a front-page story on the 728-page SCOPE report headlined “Scientists Estimate 2.5 Billion Could Perish in Nuclear Winter Famine.”

The gap between the public vindication and scientific evisceration of the “Nuclear Winter” conjecture is illustrated by the experience of NCAR’s Dr. Stephen Schneider. In February 1986 he quietly informed a gathering at the NASA-Ames Laboratory that, after five generations of ever more sophisticated models, “Nuclear Winter” had succumbed to scientific progress and that, at worst, “The Day After” might witness July temperatures upwards of +50° F in mid-America. The depths of “Nuclear Winter,” in other words, could no longer be distinguished from the coolest days of summer.

In 1985, within and away from the United States word spread on the scientific grapevine: TTAPS was not the final word on the subject. As the truth slowly emerged, private skepticism turned to public outrage in many quarters, and not just among the “hawks.” Attesting to a deep-seated revulsion among scientists against false or selective citation and suppression of evidence in defense of a desired conclusion, Professor George Rathjens of MIT, president of the Council for a Livable World and past execu-

tive of SANE, offered this judgment: “Nuclear Winter is the worst example of the misrepresentation of science to the public in my memory.”

On January 23, 1986, the leading British scientific journal *Nature* pronounced on the political erosion of the objectivity vital to the scientific endeavor: “Nowhere is this more evident than in the recent literature on ‘Nuclear Winter,’ research which has become notorious for its lack of scientific integrity.” Yet months later the *New York Times* reported as the last word on the subject the conclusion of Sir Frederick Warner, the treasurer of SCOPE, that there would be four billion deaths from the synergy of “Nuclear Winter’s” effects on our environment. When, in light of the new evidence, Thompson and Schneider published their change of mind on Sagan’s conjecture in *Foreign Affairs*, the silence was deafening—no new movies appeared to publicize its demise. Without a determined media counteroffensive, the climate modelers’ conditional surrender will unfortunately do little to shake the hold of the concept on the public’s imagination. Given the durability of videotape and the activists’ access to the airwaves, the retrograde popular perception of “Nuclear Winter” may endure into the next century.

What is being advertised is not science but a pernicious fantasy that strikes at the very foundations of crisis management, one that attempts to transform the Alliance doctrine of flexible response into a dangerous vision. For “Nuclear Winter” does exist—it is the name of a specter, a specter that is haunting Europe. Having failed in their campaign to block deployment of Nato’s theater weapons, the propagandists of the Warsaw Pact have seized upon “Nuclear Winter” in their efforts to debilitate the political will of the citizens of the Alliance. What more destabilizing fantasy than the equation of theater deterrence with a global *götterdämmerung* could they dream of? What could be more dangerous than to invite the Soviet Union to conclude that the Alliance is self-deterred—and thus at the mercy of those who possess so ominous an advantage in conventional forces?

Dr. Sagan and the Physicians for Social Responsibility may deny that their good intentions could lead anywhere but to massive disarmament. But nowhere is “psychic numbing” more evident than in their incomprehension of Livy’s timeless observation: where there is less fear, there is generally less danger. Until they come to apprehend it, nuclear illusions, some spontaneous and some carefully fostered, will continue to haunt the myth-loving animal that is man.

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*be National Interest—Fall 1986*



SOVIET TERROR

David Horowitz

OTHERS may worry about US involvement in Central America, but Dr Robert Simon is one of those who wonders why we are not in Afghanistan.

Early last winter after four years as a Professor at the UCLA Medical School, Simon began reading about the growing medical crisis in Afghanistan. He found that tuberculosis, which had been so well controlled before the 1979 Russian invasion that there were only 20 beds devoted to it at Kabul University Medical School, now afflicts 135 Afghans per 1000; that malaria, which the World Health Organization had termed a negligible problem in Afghanistan before the Russians' arrival, now affects 50 per 1000; that whooping cough, measles, dysentery and other diseases have reached epidemic proportions.

Simon thought it would be easy for a physician to volunteer his services through established international health organisations. But when he contacted the World Health Organization and the International Red Cross, these organisations, which had been able to maintain presences in Vietnam, Lebanon and other politically sensitive war zones, told him that the Russian puppet government in Kabul has forbidden them from operating in the country. Planning a leave of absence from UCLA,

Simon searched for other ways to penetrate the medical iron curtain. Finally, he contacted a group called the Union of Mujahideen Doctors which helped him make arrangements, and, after several months of preparation, he took a leave of absence and went to Afghanistan early last summer.

Stopping only to hide from Soviet planes, the party walked 15 miles a day in 110 degree temperatures until they reached Konar Province. There Simon set up a clinic in a camouflaged tent, and protected by a captured Russian anti-aircraft gun and a Mujahideen serving as a "triage officer", began to work on the sick and wounded who had travelled up to 50 miles — always at night to avoid being spotted by helicopter gunships — to see him. A donkey was the ambulance. Folding cots served as operating tables. Twelve sleeping bags were the hospital beds. When he ran out of gesso for plaster casts, Simon used the mud and straw mix the Afghans used to build houses. When he ran out of sutures, he sterilised hair from the tail of a mule and used that. When he ran out of morphine he gave his patients valium for a sedative and when he ran out of that he told them to grit their teeth.



As he worked, Simon was told of whole villages whose population had been herded into irrigation tunnels and incinerated by gasoline fires as Soviet troops applauded from above: of uncooperative village elders being forced to stay outside during the freezing nights and losing fingers and toes to frostbite as a result; of children having their throats slit in front of their parents.

By the end of his several weeks in Afghanistan, Simon had begun asking himself a question that his next several months working for the Afghan cause at home would leave unanswered:

The Russians are committing atrocities that rank with those of Nazi Germany. Why is it that we and the rest of the world are once again standing by and watching it happen?

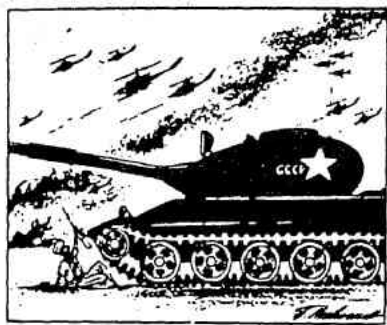
Perhaps part of the problem is that Afghanistan seems so far away, not only spatially but conceptually as well — a 19th century Kiplingesque world of empire and romance, of ambushes and alarms in austere mountain passes. The Mujahideen freedom fighters are backward in the ways of Western media, and have never mastered the capacity for projecting stirring images of themselves and their struggle as the Indochinese once did and some Central Americans now do.

Of the approximately 16 million Afghans in the country in 1980, an estimated one million have been killed and wounded since the coming of the Red Army. Soviet terror has created some four million refugees, better than one-quarter of the nation — two and a half million in Pakistan and one and a half in Iran. These figures do not even count the "internal" refugees — the hundreds of thousands of villagers forced to leave their scorched earth for the Russian controlled big cities which are the only places where food is available, or the tens of thousands of school children sent off to the Soviet Union to be educated as cadres and reintegrated into Afghan society later on as spies and assassins.

Soviet strategy in Afghanistan is based on a brutal rejoinder to Mao's poetic notion of guerrillas as fish swimming in the sea of popular support. If that is so, Russian generals answer, then we shall boil that sea and ultimately drain it, leaving the fish exposed and gasping on barren land. In 1980, during the initial arrogance of an invasion which presumed little resistance, Soviet ground forces assaulted villages in search and destroy actions. But after these troops began taking heavy casualties, the Russians made the transition to an air war of attrition featuring MIGs and helicopter gunships, carpet bombings and the deadly "yellow rain" which even the left-leaning Peoples' Tribunal in Paris (successor to the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal) has affirmed is being used in Afghanistan.



Why is it, then, that the extermination and dispersal of a people has not gained more attention and sympathy? Part of the reason may be the coercive power of an analogy. Afghanistan is, we are constantly told, Russia's Vietnam. Those who say this seem to think that by simply making the association they have doomed the Soviet war effort. Actually, the analogy is based on a misunderstanding of what Vietnam was and what Afghanistan is. Most obviously, Vietnam was a high tech television war; Afghanistan is one of those old fashioned encounters that takes place in the dark. There is no such thing as independent media in the Soviet Union able to question whether or not there is light at the end of the tunnel; no cameras bringing back nightly footage that shows the brutality visited on an innocent people or the body bags offloading from Soviet transports; no reports of growing revulsion on the homefront, no protests in the street or clamour to bring the boys home.



Afghanistan is not Vietnam because the people committing atrocities never see them. Nor do people in the rest of the world, for it is not only their own news organisations that the Russians have been able to censor. Without access to the imagery of the war, much of the international press has assumed that the Mujahideen have not mounted a compelling resistance, although on the rare occasions when the press manage to get into the country they find quite the contrary. For instance, a Sunday London Times writer who took advantage of a bureaucratic lapse to lay over in Kabul on a flight to Moscow found that the Afghan capital was a "city besieged", with Soviet troops under assault day and night, with Afghan children openly selling Russians drugs,

with a 100-vehicle Russian convoy attacked by Mujahideen a half mile from the InterContinental Hotel where he was staying. By the laws of political entropy, however, the relative lack of such reports seems to mitigate against there being such news in the future.

Another reason why the Vietnam analogy doesn't work is that the Soviets don't care whether or not they win the hearts and minds of the Afghans, as long as they win. The analogy breaks down even more fundamentally on the fact that the Afghans have no superpower ally willing to support and underwrite their war effort, as the Vietnamese did. And so the truth of the Vietnam analogy is not that guerrillas will ultimately defeat a superpower, but that a war against an indigenous population not waged under the high intensity microscope of a free press and a sensitivity to world opinion is eminently winnable. Indeed, there is evidence that Red Army Generals are actually enjoying the opportunity to allow certain of their units to be "blooded" in this conflict, which has already lasted longer than Russian involvement in World War II.



It is also clear that the Soviets count on the double standard which seems to exist in the rest of the free world when it comes time to measure their actions against those of the United States. Grenada brings demonstrations in all the major capitals of Europe; the anniversaries of Afghanistan are marked by a handful of emigrés holding vigils in front of the Russian embassies. In a recent speech on world affairs, Sweden's Olaf Palme mentioned US involvement in Central America 53 times and Soviet involvement in Afghanistan once.

Even more incomprehensibly, this double standard seems to exist also in the US media and intellectual community. The Sandinistas' anti-American propaganda is given credibility by all the major news gathering organisations; the war in Afghanistan is virtually ignored.

The same groups who warn that 60 US advisers in El Salvador or Administration concerns over Soviet weapons flown into Nicaragua presages invasions there "explain" the accomplished invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by 120,000 troops as a matter of legitimate Soviet strategic concern. The same groups who support self-determination for the Sandinistas deny that support to the Afghan Mujahideen because they don't possess radical chic. Because anti-Soviet attitudes are involved, Afghanistan is dismissed as a dowdy conservative issue; Central America is appealing because it embodies the anti-American attitudes which continue to exist in this culture at a level untouched by the "renewal of patriotism".

The US continues to pick the scab of Vietnam and bleed a politics of guilty impotence while Afghanistan dies. Afghanistan should matter not just because of narrow strategic issues, although denying the Soviets access to their long range imperial goals involving the Indian Subcontinent and the Persian Gulf, goals which are predicated on the conquest of Afghanistan, seem laudable enough. Afghanistan should matter to us for reasons which shouldn't even have to be mentioned — because the Mujahideen are a brave people fighting against a tyrannical invader; because their cause is an opportunity to place this country on the right side in a war of national liberation.

We are occasionally given to understand that we are covertly aiding the Mujahideen through the CIA. The aid ought to be overt, a matter of national pride as well as national policy. In the same spirit that we try to alleviate Ethiopian famine, we ought to be sending hand-held missile launchers and other weapons to end the Soviet reign of terror from the air and to be collecting blood and other supplies to forestall the medical catastrophe which is one aspect of Soviet strategy for the country. That we are not only not doing these things but not even talking about Afghanistan is a mystery to someone like Dr Robert Simon.

Quadrant, June 1986.

Monday 27 April 1987.



**Business & the Broad Left** by HUGH MORGAN\*



Since the mid-1970's, the mining industry has been confronted with a succession of major political problems. These problems have arisen because both sides of politics seemed to have formed the view that, regardless of whatever legislation was enacted and regardless of the degree of regulation which was imposed, the mining industry would keep on earning more and more export income, would keep on paying more and more taxes, would keep on investing more and more in exploration activity and mine development.

For my own company, the high point of our enforced involvement in political and ideological debate was the blockading at Roxby Downs during the August school holidays of 1983 and 1984. We realised then, if we hadn't before, that we were deeply involved.

The mining industry has discovered the hard way, that industries which do not understand and vigorously defend their legitimacy will find their survival at risk.

Not only is it the mining industry which has cause to rue its lack of interest in ideological and political affairs. Managers and executives in business activity of all kinds find themselves increasingly squeezed in their ability to operate sensibly, economically, and profitably. They are being told, either implicitly or directly, that they are morally incapable of acting in the public interest, and that their activities must be restricted, closely monitored, and increasingly controlled by government, and increasingly by union representatives.

The capacity and legitimacy of managers and executives within the private sector to do their day-to-day work is under continuous and sustained attack.

We are now in a period of great change in the political life of our country. Whereas political loyalties used to be seen as largely inherited, there is today a volatility in political attachment that seems to be unprecedented. The battle of ideas thus takes on very great importance and every one of us, regardless of professional practice or industrial vocation, will either greatly benefit, or be greatly damaged, according to the outcome of that battle.

It is at this point that the "New Right", as it has been called, comes into view.

What the New Right is now saying, with increasing authority, is that for a healthier society, for better family life, for greater opportunities for individual creativity and endeavour, and ultimately for the preservation of the State itself, the role of government must be diminished, indeed, must be greatly diminished.

Now if a person has spent years in attending meetings, in taking part in

"organisational struggle", in suffering fools gladly, in placing political ambition above friendship, above cultural or intellectual pursuits or above religious commitments, and after all this, having attained perhaps ministerial office, it must be particularly galling to be told by these cheeky people from the New Right that instead of being able, as Ministers of the Crown, to solve the great problems facing mankind, they themselves are the problem.

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that criticisms of the New Right bubble and boil with passion and indignation. It is no wonder that the Left who hold faith in the efficacy of government should be so cross about the "New Right".

Let me now move on to the Broad Left Conference, held during Easter in Sydney at the N.S.W. Institute of Technology.

Participants at the conference did not accept either the legitimacy of private enterprise, nor the utility of free markets. Let me quote some of their literature:

The emergence of a more extreme and ideologically confident right wing, which has launched a new offensive against labor and progressive movements, designed to roll back the gains made by unions, Aborigines, women, migrants, the gay community, and other progressive social forces, is a strategic issue facing the left. (Broad Left Conference Enrolment Form)

The resurgence of the New Right represents a political mobilisation of big capital who, despite doing extremely well out of the ACCORD, are intent on waging an ideological campaign against the Union movement. (emphasis in the text) — TNC Workers Research Brief 13, November 1985, entitled "The New Right — Who? What? Why?"

The TNC, the Trans-National Co-operative, is the organisation which

"consumers are not anti-business; we are simply anti-practices that are anti-consumer."

Wheelwright's rebuke

"What we are saying is that modern capitalism is frightfully undemocratic, whether trans-national or local. Let's get it clear that the capitalist system is the cause of the problem." (Multi-national Monitor, May 15, 1985).

The Trans-National Co-operative, which had office space firstly in the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union building in 2 Castlereagh Street, and more recently in premises belonging to the NSW Teachers' Federation, is predominantly funded by contributions from unions such as the ACOA, the AMWU, the Australian Teachers' Federation, the BWIU, the ABC Staff Association of NSW, the ATEA and the NSW Teachers' Federation.

Since this body, the Trans-National Co-operative, is funded by these unions, whose income is very largely obtained through compulsorily levied union dues, it is instructive to consider the arguments put forward by the TNC on the legitimacy of trade unions. Let me quote from the TNC Workers' Research No. 13, again.

"The unions argue that freedom is the right to organise to seek protection within an inherently inequitable social system."

"The New Right advocates policies of the wilful destruction of the only true representatives of the unemployed and low and middle income workers — the union movement."

Thus the unions, on the arguments put forward by the Trans-National Co-operative, uphold democratic principles. They are the only true representatives of the unemployed and the lower-paid workers. They offer protection in an inherently inequitable social system.



published the document from which I have just quoted. The leading spirit in the TNC since its inception has been Associate Professor Ted Wheelwright, of the Department of Economics at the University of Sydney and one of the sponsors of the Broad Left Conference.

The TNC is obsessed about what it calls the New Right Think-Tanks. In the Workers' Research Brief we read the following, and I paraphrase to make comprehension easier:

"The New Right Think Tanks have a strong commitment to anything that is anti-worker, anti-union and ultimately anti-democratic."

"They disseminate their "moralistic" justifications for nuclear war, private enterprise's abuse of legislation (including health and safety Acts), union bashing, misogyny, and slave labor."

Associate Professor Wheelwright has been active in many causes. Another important sphere of activity for him has been the Australian Consumers' Association, where he has been a leading figure since the early 'seventies, and it is in the arena of the politics of consumerism that we find an important indication of Associate Professor Wheelwright's basic position.

At an international conference of consumerists, Wheelwright rebuked Allan Asher, also of the Australian Consumers' Association, for stating —

If this were true, I doubt whether unions would need to use the arbitration system to force people to join them. Likewise, I think it most unlikely that unions would have to rely on laws which stop people establishing new unions to compete with such leviathan monopolies as the AMWU.

The principles of union preference, the arbitral settlement of demarcation disputes (which remind one of territorial disputes between rival gangs offering "protection" to reluctant customers), the insurmountable barriers to the establishment of new unions, have placed our unions in a monopoly position so powerful that only the State itself is strong enough to treat with them.

As an indication of how privileged our trade unions have become, it is noteworthy that the Bill of Rights, now being debated in the Parliament and elsewhere, includes the right to join a union. However, there is no right within it *not* to join a union, and there is certainly no right to set-up a new union.

As an example of confident and aggressive union power, I cannot do better than refer to the story in the Sydney Morning Herald of 25 February last, concerning the letter written

by Mr. Harry Hurrell, national secretary of the FIA to Mr. Alan Coates, the managing director of the AMP Society. Let me quote from the letter:

"Your organisation has investments in many other companies, to whose profitability the co-operation of this union has been and remains essential. We seriously warn that this should not be taken for granted. If the interests of our members are disregarded in the case of BHP, this union will understand that the major responsibility lies with the funds. Other companies in which the funds have shareholdings could not expect the same co-operation from the union as they have enjoyed in the past."

Such a letter has profound implications for the business community, indeed for the rule of law. It is noteworthy that the Federated Ironworkers' Association is regarded as a pillar of moderate trade unionism.

Attacks on monopoly privilege have long been claimed by the Left to be their traditional prerogative. It now would seem that the New Right has taken over this role.

The Broad Left Conference constituted a strategic regrouping by the Left to consolidate and invigorate their forces. It is symptomatic of the Left's great strength in very many institutions — notably schools, universities, churches, the media and, of course, trade unions — that 1600 people went to the Conference. I doubt whether the New Right could muster more than 15 people to come to an Easter Conference to discuss the Old Left, or indeed to discuss anything.

Those of you who value the freedom and the opportunities which we still enjoy in Australia, and who desire to see them extended to more and more of our citizens, should take up the challenge which this Broad Left Conference symbolises.

At that conference, there were many battle-hardened veterans of innumerable political and union struggles, whose fundamental ambition is the destruction of the private sector of our economy and whose working life has been dedicated to the capture of political power in order to transform society into a new mould.

These people have been steadily and surely encroaching on our liberties as individuals, on our prerogatives as members of families, on our ability to do our jobs within the wealth-creating private sector, for many many years. They have to be taken very seriously.

The participants at the Conference — be they (and I paraphrase the Conference enrolment document) homosexuals, women, Aborigines, trade union officials, public-sector teachers or officials of one kind or another — were all told (and most of them already firmly believe) that the business community are the cause of all their problems.

They regard the business community, the private sector, the institutions of private properties and free markets as fundamentally illegitimate, as morally degenerate, deserving only to be cast into the *dustbin* of history.

These people, I am certain, are profoundly wrong. But unless we are prepared to defend our legitimacy, to support those think-tanks which espouse the values of liberty and enterprise, and which argue the case for free markets and private property, then the people who went to Sydney at Easter, and gave of their holiday time, will have their way.

The private sector will be thrown into the *dustbin* of history. It is up to the business community to take these people seriously.

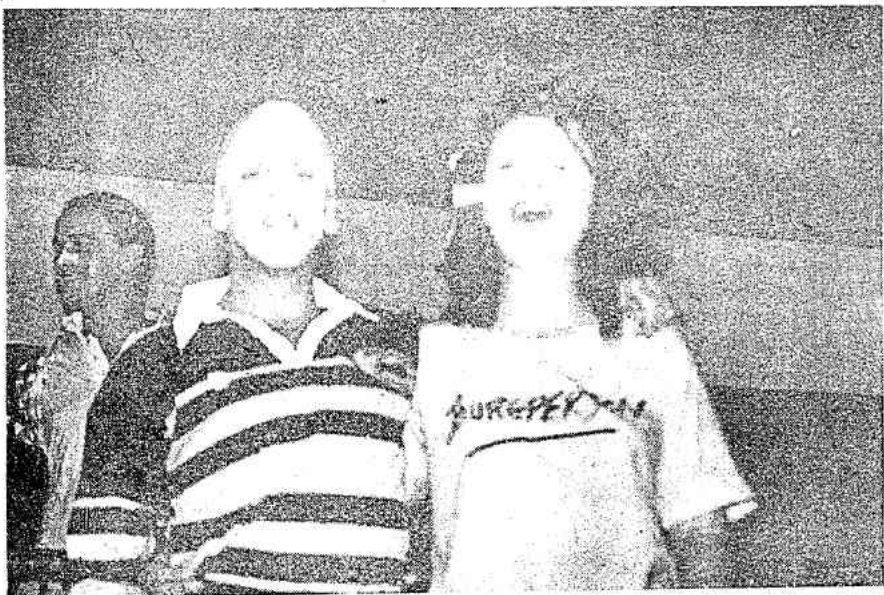
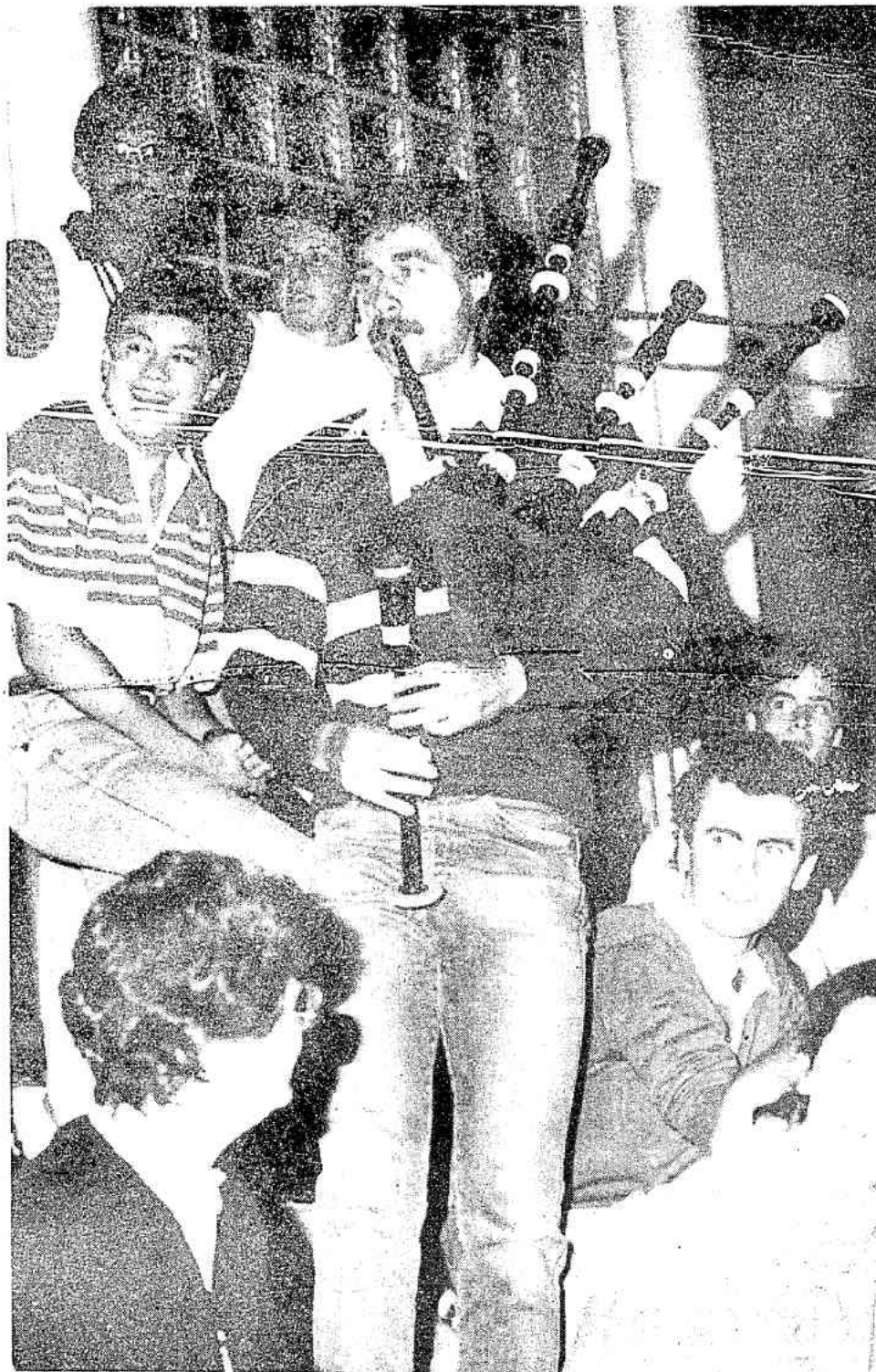
\*Mr Hugh Morgan is the Executive Director of Western Mining Corporation. This is an edited version of a speech Mr Morgan gave to the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce.



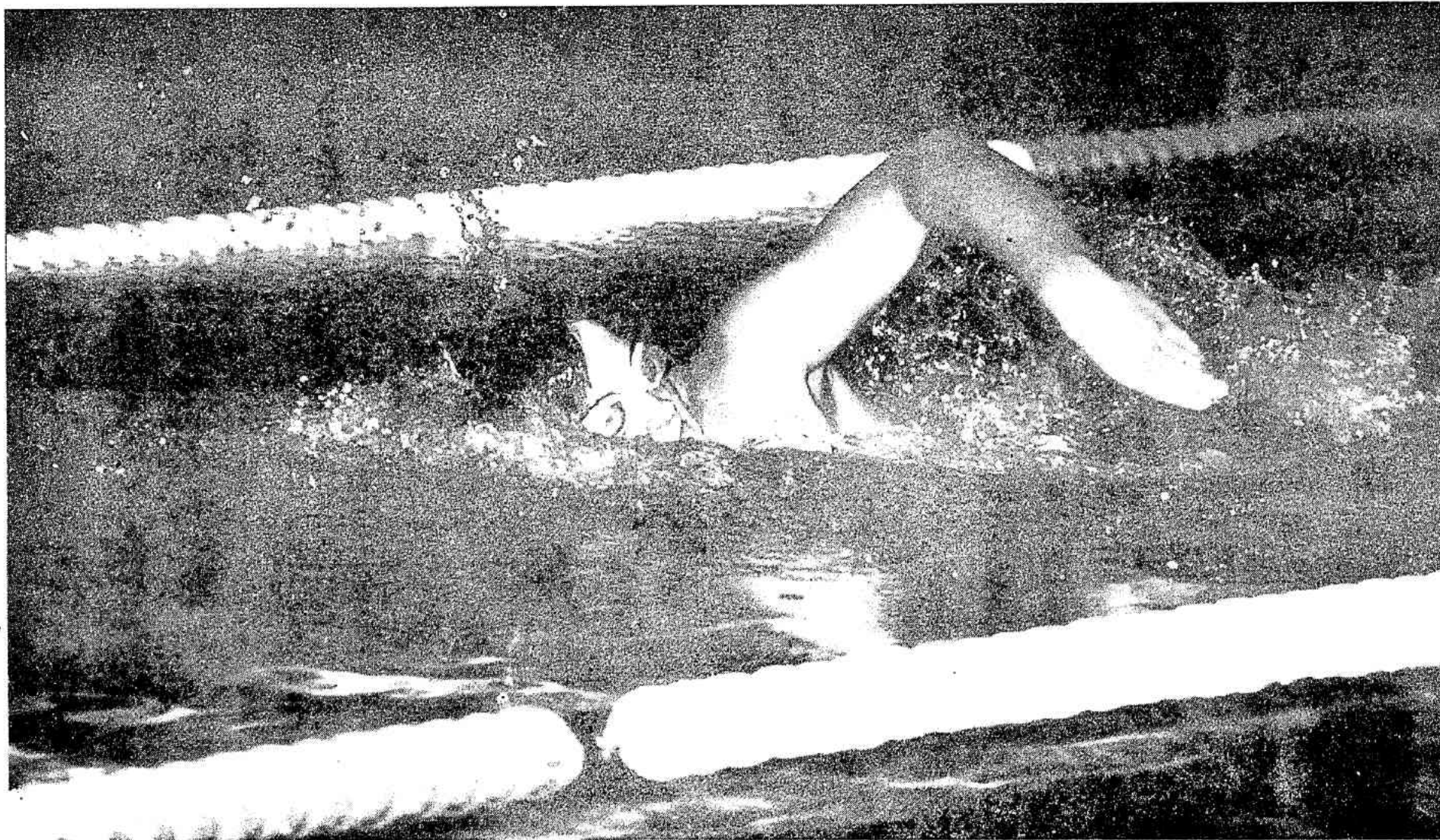
# INTER-HALL SWIMMING CARNIVAL



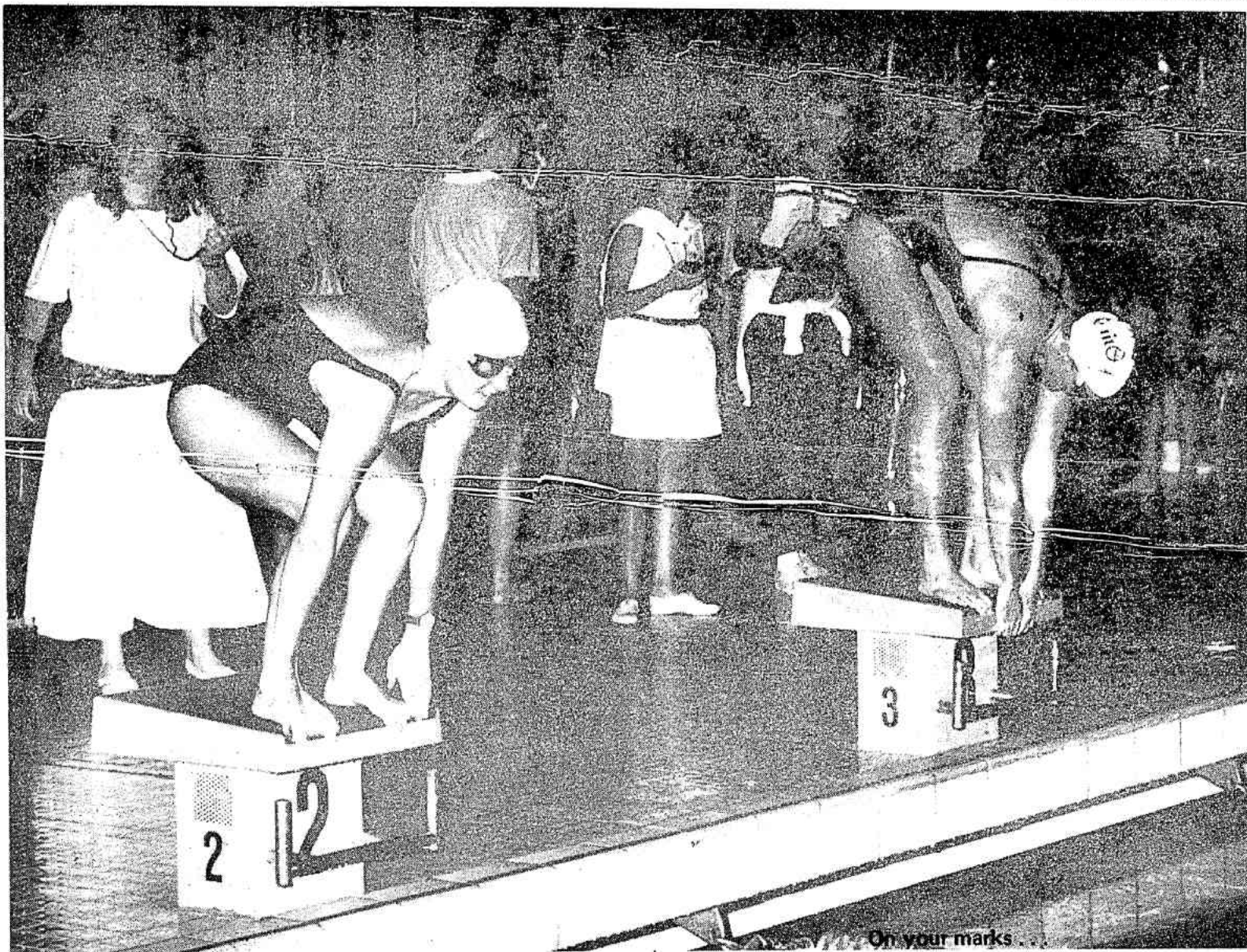
Is this a swimming carnival or an orchestra?



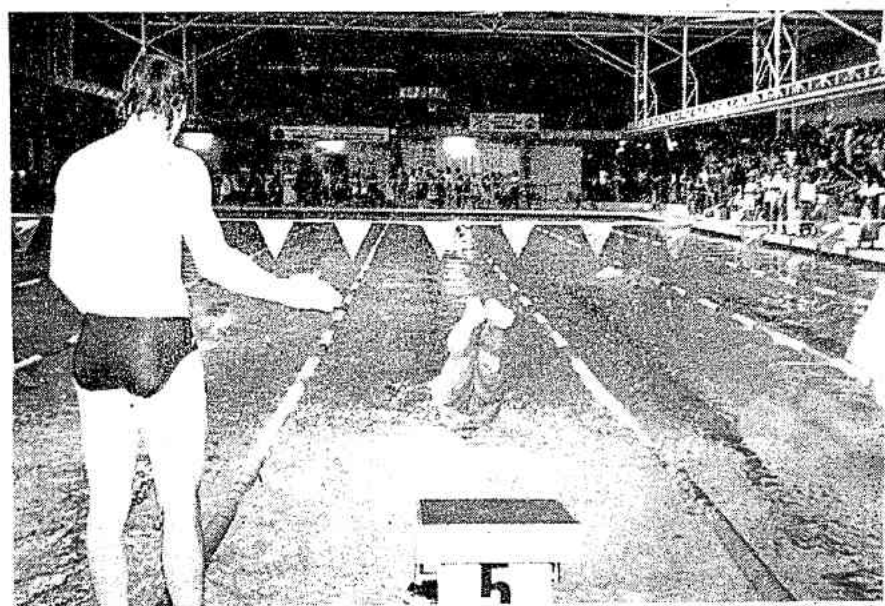
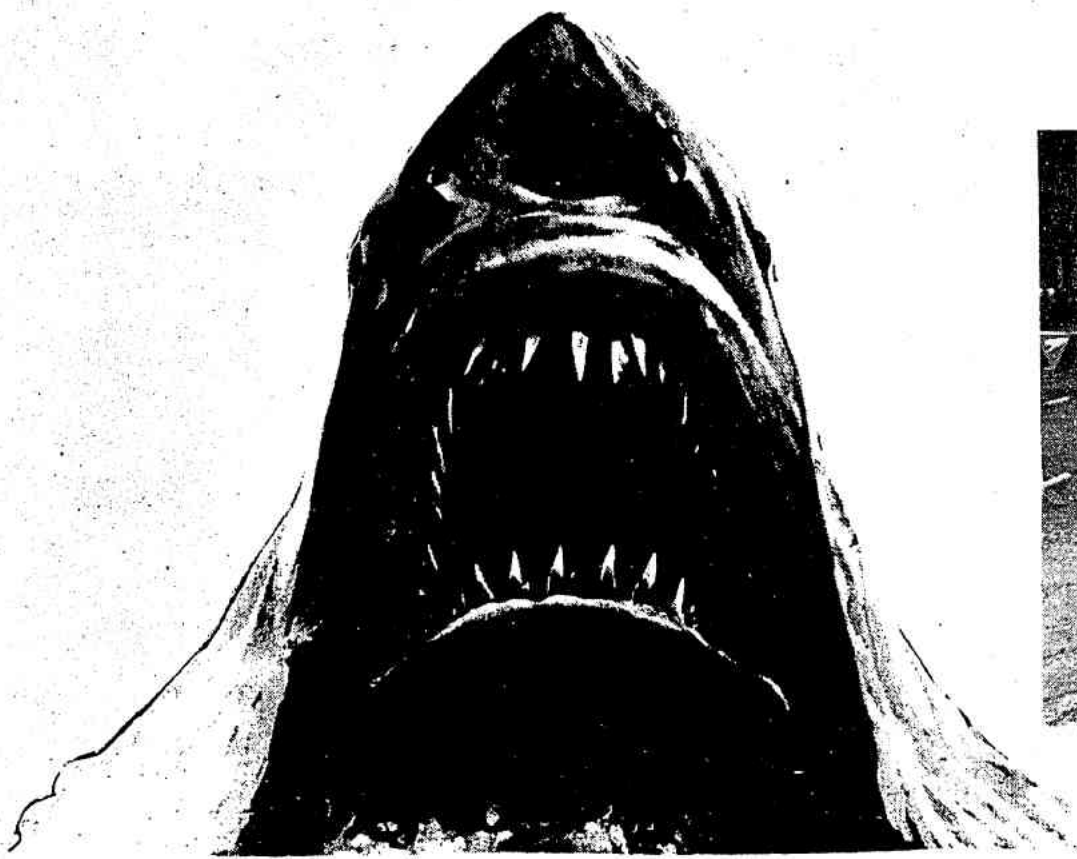
Those funny people at the end of Daley Road







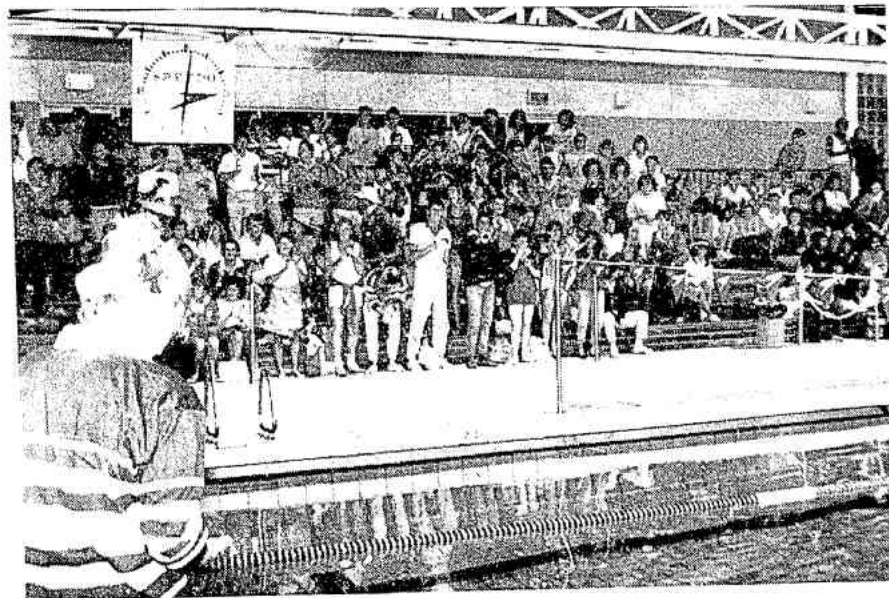
On your marks...  
Get set



Go!!!



Just when you thought it was safe to get  
back into the water



Consequences censured The crowd watches in horror.



# WORONI TERM IN REVIEW



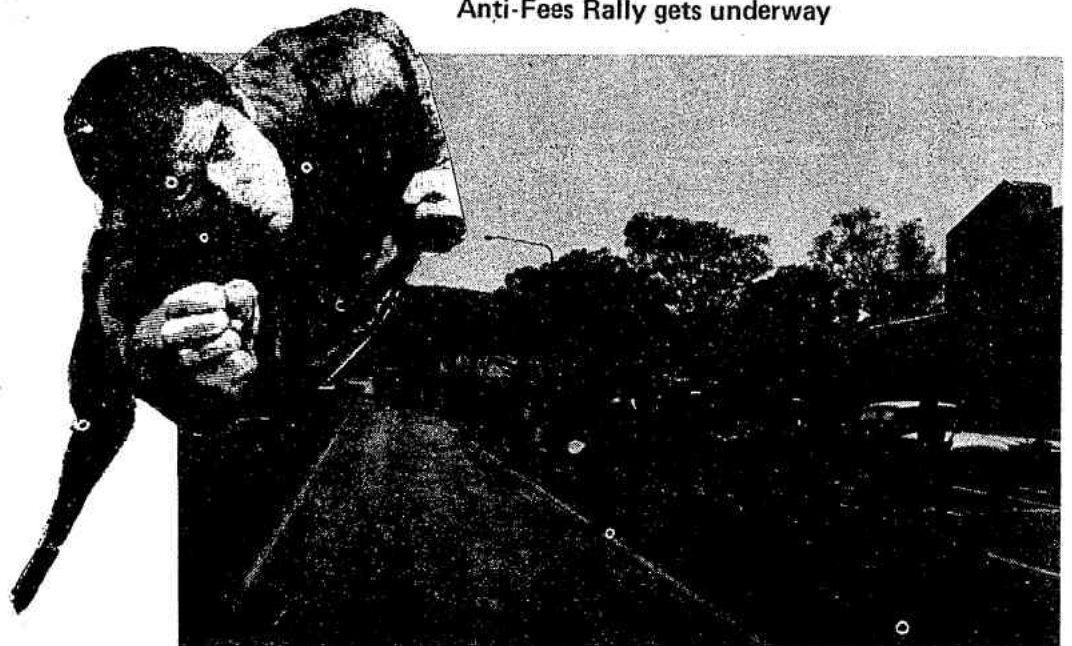
Liberal Cocktail Party 1987



Anti-Fees Rally gets underway



Geoff Martin, leader of the Democrats



Photos by G.M.



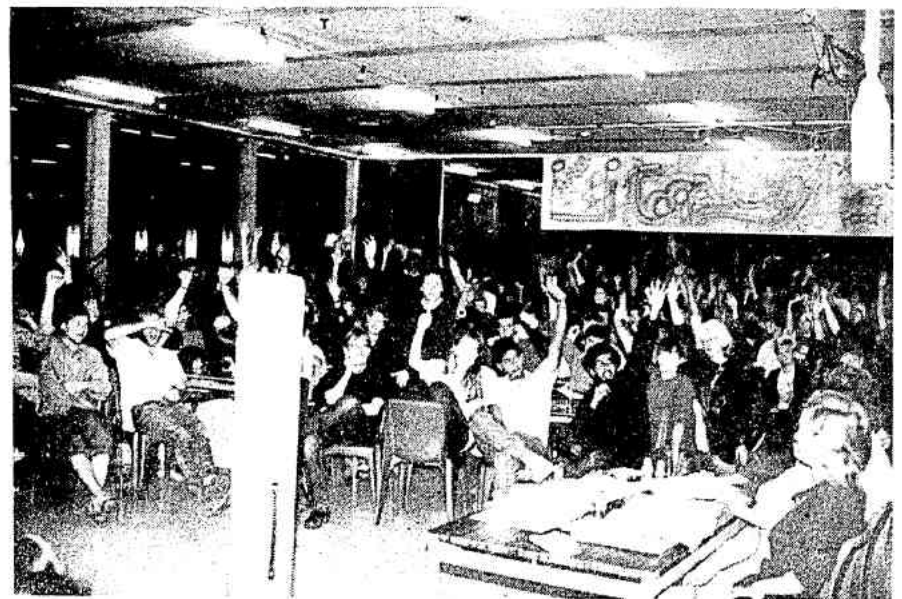
Who is the leader of the Liberal Party?  
Chaney? Phelps??



The biggest S.A. General Meeting for years.



The Liberal joke went down badly.  
A stripper!



President Kate Andrews receives overwhelming support



## STATE OF THE UNION

This report on ANU Union goes on aims to tell you about some of the changes the Union Board is making to the management of the Union and the plans we have for the future. There seem to be quite a few rumours going around about the Board's plans so I thought I would contribute this article. Anyone that ever wants to know about what's happening at the Union is always welcome to see me or any other Board member.

### UNION REFURBISHMENT

Our architects are currently submitting the proposal to the Department of Territories and we are hoping to start work within three months. The first areas to be worked on will be the commercial areas for which some tenants have already been found.

### UNION SHOPPING MALL

In addition to the Wordprocessing Centre and Union Shop (which now sells videos) the Board has already organised a hairdresser, hot bake, optometrist, general and Asian grocery store and icecream shop to come into the

Union. We are soon to search for tenants for the remaining areas and envisage no problems finding tenants who are willing to provide worthwhile student services.

### UNION STRIKE

It's time to cut through the "Socialist Action" and "Labor Coalition" lies about the Union strike - there is no doubt these groups are more interested in politics than the interests of the Union and its members.

The issue is clear, the trade unions want no privately run services in the Union and want an assurance from the Union Board to this effect. We promised the introduction of private services into the Union in our election and have already organised some businesses to operate in the Union, e.g. icecream shop. Having privately run services is in the interests of Union members and THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO WAY THE BOARD IS PREPARED TO GIVE INTO SUCH AN OUTRAGEOUS DEMAND.

An illusion that is being created by the politicians is that the Board is attacking staff working conditions. This is laughable as since the new Board has been in power it has improved the Union superannuation scheme, increased by 33% the contribution to the Staff Christmas Party and given all staff a box of chocolates in appreciation of their service during a busy first week of term. If we also consider that ANU Union wages and conditions are the

best in the ACT then the claim that the Board is screwing the workers gets exposed for exactly what it is - RIDICULOUS, STUPID AND IGNORANT.

A good relationship with staff is one of the very highest priorities of the Board and any implication to the contrary should be treated as slander.

### UNION ACTIVITIES

The Union is continually providing an excellent range of entertainment for students. Recently the Mental as Anything - Cockroaches concert was a great success with a student discount price of only \$6. Coming events include the Graduation Ball on May 7th and the first of our "On Campus Night". These nights are aimed at getting students back to the bar by providing free quality entertainment and special offers (such as the cooler promotion to be held in conjunction with the first "On Campus Night"). Our commitment to students is shown by our insistence that there be a student discount price for all entertainment. Recently this meant we had to refuse Midnight Oil because they refused to give a discount to students - we believe that student discounts are so important as to allow no exceptions.

### K-BLOCK CANTEEN

Those of you who use the Canteen might remember the new Board made several promises in respect of K-Block, including its refurbishment. We are

keeping these promises and will also be giving it a new name as the ANU has gone and named some other building K-Block - I don't know why, but we can probably think of a better name anyway.

While refurbishment to the Canteen and possibly the addition of a balcony is in the pipeline, there is no question of any of the best aspects of the Canteen being removed. There are plans to increase the product range, improve the decor and encourage higher patronage, but there is no question of changes taking place which will detract from either the service or atmosphere of the Canteen.

### WHAT IS THE BOARD AND WHAT ARE ITS AIMS?

I was recently asked this question by a member as a representative of the current Board. We do not see ourselves as politicians, we see ourselves as businesspeople who are charged with the responsibility of running the Union in its members' interests. The primary aim of the current Union Board is simple - WE WANT TO MAKE THE ANU UNION THE BEST UNIVERSITY UNION IN THE WORLD - anything less is simply not good enough.

Bob Wheeldon  
Chair  
Union Board



On Thursday, 2 April, the ANU Liberal Club organised a demonstration outside the National Press Club, to protest against the visit of Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress. The demonstration followed similar demonstrations that have hounded

Tambo across the country during his tour.

ANU students across the road from the Press Club carried tyres around their necks to show their disgust at the ANC's favourite terror tactic, the "necklace", which involves placing a tyre around the victim's neck,

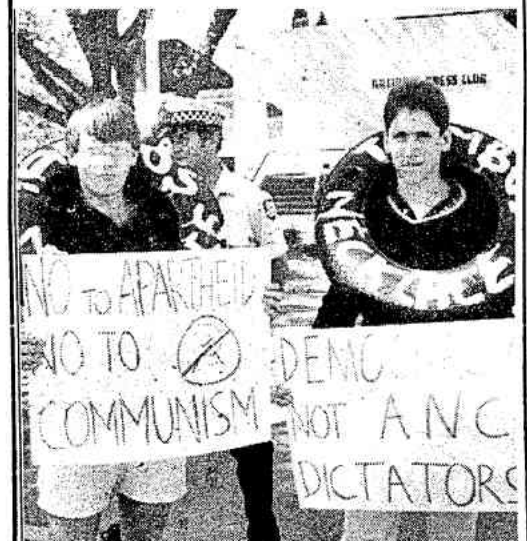


## Students Against the ANC

soaking them in petrol and setting them alight. They also carried placards with slogans such as "No to Apartheid, No to Communism",

"Democracy Not Dictatorship" and "No to Tambo's Terror". Michael Cobb, National Party member for Parkes, addressed the demonstration, while diplomatic cars with Eastern Bloc flags pulled up outside the Press Club. When Tambo arrived, the gathered crowd

One of the main concerns of the demonstrators was the failure of the Australian government to invite moderate black leaders to Australia who represent a much larger proportion of South Africa's black majority. Why should we only get the



views of southern Africa's terrorist leaders to the exclusion of others, who have a much more constructive contribution to make to the dismantling of apartheid?





# THE AUSTRALIAN

WEDNESDAY APRIL 22 1987

## Activist seeks Libyan help

By ROSS PEAKE and staff reporters

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, intensified warnings about Libyan penetration of the South Pacific yesterday after Vanuatu officials at an anti-imperialist rally in Tripoli said they would open an "international revolutionary front" backed by the Libyan leader, Colonel Gaddafi.

Controversy also mounted over the participation of an Aboriginal activist, Mr Michael Mansell, in the event. Mr Mansell, in the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Mr Jim Holding, threatening to stop funds for any Libyan-backed Aboriginal men denying such links.

Mr Mansell speaking from a station in Melbourne said he intended to form an alliance with the Libyan revolutionary group in an attempt to initiate "radical changes" to the lifestyle of the Australian Aboriginal community. He also threatened to disrupt next year's Bicentennial celebrations in Vanuatu, a foreign ministry official. Mr Japeth Davoa, denied claims by the Libyan-sponsored World Centre Against Zionism, Racism and Imperialism that the Mathaba Front would be allowed to open an office in the capital, Port Vila.

Diplomats said they knew nothing about the organisation, but presumed the office would be along the same lines as Libya's diplomatic mission to Vanuatu, which is due to open in the next few weeks.

Mr Hayden condemned Mr Mansell's descriptions of the Aborigines by other Australians as "distinctly unhelpful" and he said Canberra was concerned about Libyan moves into the South Pacific.

US Pacific influence - Page 4

"We are aware of a range of things which Libyan representatives have been doing down through that area," Mr Hayden said.

"Those things are not designed to shore up the economic dependence and sovereignty over time of countries of the region."

Meanwhile, in a speech to conference delegates - many of whom represented Pacific countries - Colonel Gaddafi said that those with whom Mr Mansell had been associating in Tripoli were "bad news" for anyone. "black or white".

Mr Holding had previously told the TAC he was "particularly concerned at the suggestion that Tasmanian Aborigines generally endorsed, and have supported, (Mr Mansell's) visit and his request for funds, even if conditions are attached by Colonel Gaddafi".

Last night, the head of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Mr Charles Perkins, said that those with whom Mr Mansell had been associating in Tripoli were "bad news" for anyone. "black or white".

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Libyan Leader Gaddafi at Home on the Farm.



# HOW 'LA PRENSA' WAS SILENCED

by Jamie Chamorro

**D**URING the national insurrection in Nicaragua against Anastasio Somoza, my family's newspaper, *La Prensa*, opposed his regime with all the resources at its command (including a loan of \$50,000 to the Sandinistas, which has never been paid back). Indeed, it was the assassination of *La Prensa's* editor, my older brother Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Cardenal, on January 10, 1978, which ignited all of Nicaragua into the final battle against Somoza and his regime. When that battle ended in July 1979 and the Sandinistas entered Managua, the whole country celebrated. But the Sandinistas soon betrayed the revolution that had brought them to power. Among the first pledges they broke was the one concerning freedom of the press.

Early on, the Sandinistas mandated a series of repressive laws which gave the government virtually unlimited restrictive powers over the press and other media. Between August 1979 and September 1980 alone, the Sandinistas issued three ordinances—the General Law on Communications Media and Decrees #511 and #512—which made freedom of expression contingent upon a range of deliberately ambiguous criteria, and established prior censorship for whatever the Sandinistas arbitrarily decided were economic and national-security matters.

In short, repressive legislation was mandated and enforced well before the state of emergency declared on March 15, 1982 and before the *contras* had given the Sandinistas the pretext to do what they had been doing all along.

From the beginning, we at *La Prensa* had made up our minds to support the revolution, but without giving up our independence—a policy that was bound to cause trouble. Thus, as early as September 1980, after the first massive anti-government demonstration on the Nicaraguan Atlantic coast (the Miskito Indians protesting the Cuban presence in Bluefields), the government ordered *La Prensa* to stop reporting about the region without prior government approval.

In general, however, since *La Prensa's* opposition to Somoza was firmly on record both nationally and internationally, the Sandinista campaign against the paper took a while to get started. In the first days there was a series of friendly talks and visits with the Sandinistas, including one meeting which took place at the home of my brother Xavier, the third of the Chamorro brothers, who like the rest of us was a shareholder in the family paper. Present at the meeting were Daniel Ortega (a member of the ruling *junta*, but not yet President) and his companion Rosario Murillo, who had been our elder brother Pedro Joaquín's secretary at *La Prensa* for twelve years.

By the end of April the pressure had intensified, and the Sandinistas summoned *La Prensa's* directors to a meeting with three *comandantes*: Bayardo Arce, Carlos Nuñez, and Humberto Ortega. The *comandantes* insisted that the only person acceptable to them as editor of *La Prensa*—the only one they considered "*consecuente*" (sympathetic and understanding)—was Xavier Chamorro. They stated further that although we did not realize it, we were being used by the CIA to injure the revolution. After a few more exchanges along these lines, I finally told Bayardo Arce that as long as *La Prensa* still belonged to its legitimate owners we would go on acting as its directors. If the Sandinistas wanted it otherwise, they would have to confiscate the paper and put their own names on the masthead. The *comandantes*, having expected a different response, were surprised and confused.

**I**N 1981 the Sandinistas changed their tactics and began a systematic campaign of harassment and intimidation against *La Prensa*. We were forbidden to publish a variety of items, including editorials or letters to the editor touching in any way on the banana crop or on the government's negotiations with the Standard Fruit Company; any kind of news or commentary about the temporary shutdown of the independent Nicaraguan Permanent Committee on Human Rights; any reference to a poll taken by *La Prensa*

which showed the regime to be losing the support of the people; any mention of the former Sandinista war hero Edén Pastora who, after growing disillusionment with the revolution, had gone over to the opposition. We were also forbidden to allude in any way to the fact that we were being censored.

On top of all this, a new terror swept through Nicaragua in the form of Sandinista mobs which the government unleashed at will against its opponents. These *turbas divinas* ("divine mobs"), as the Sandinistas called them, were an updated version of earlier Somocista mobs. For the sheer power to intimidate, however, the Sandinista *turbas* far surpassed their predecessors. On repeated occasions they attacked *La Prensa* installations and besieged the homes of its owners and functionaries (including my own, and those of the widow, son, and mother of the former editor), throwing stones, painting obscene words and slogans on the walls, pounding on doors, and hurling insults at the people inside. Only after they grew tired, or when the "operation" was considered finished, would the attackers finally depart, leaving behind defaced walls, broken windows, smashed vehicles, and terror. Since the mobs were protected by the police and led by one or another Sandinista functionary—sometimes a man, at other times a woman—they could attack with impunity.



The Sandinistas also used the mobs to attack the distribution points throughout Nicaragua where *La Prensa* was sold. Many owners and employees of these agencies were harassed, to a point where many of them were finally forced to stop selling *La Prensa*. Thus it was not only freedom of the press that was (and is) threatened in Nicaragua but also the freedom to work, since many people made their living selling the paper. We were also told by a number of *La Prensa* agents that some of the people who turned up in these mobs had made a living doing the same thing under Somoza.

The willingness to welcome back old Somocistas seems to be a fundamental characteristic of *Sandinismo*: many of the same thugs who once worked for Somoza now fill the state agencies and are successfully integrated into the Sandinista Defense Committees and other government positions where their services are appreciated. That is why many of us in Nicaragua say that *Sandinismo* is *Somocismo* of the Left; it is *Somocismo* writ large.

**I**N ADDITION to attacking distribution points, the Sandinistas also carried out personal attacks against staff members and employees of *La Prensa*. On July 24, 1982 Horacio Ruiz, one of the paper's most respected editors, was forced into a car on a Managua street by four men, two of whom carried machine guns. Ruiz was beaten so severely that he lost consciousness. When he regained consciousness, he was told by one of his assailants, "Now you will find out what the mobs are." They then beat him once more, and one of the men with a machine gun threatened to kill him. Finally Ruiz was driven to a remote spot and thrown out of the car.

*La Prensa's* account of the attack was partially censored. We were not allowed to mention the machine guns, for instance, or to respond to blatant and absurd discrepancies in the government's version of the incident (*Barricada* and *El Nuevo Diario*, the two government papers, attempted to write it off as the anger of a "jealous husband"). We were also prohibited from mentioning denunciations of the attack that had been carried by various international news agencies.

**T**HE grounds for censorship of *La Prensa* were equally trumped-up. To justify their policy, the Sandinistas at first claimed that it applied only to information or news pertaining to national security; later, they justified it on grounds that the country was in a state of war, and drastic measures were necessary. But these excuses and pretexts were a form of juridical propaganda aimed at the outside world. Inside Nicaragua, the people knew better. They knew that what was being censored usually had nothing to do with national security, and that it was being kept from the public because it took issue with the regime's politics, its system of one-party government, its corruption (embezzlement, misappropriation of public funds, large-scale waste), and its creation of a monstrous bureaucracy to implement the dictates of an emerging octopus state. They knew further that it was not just political and administrative affairs that were subject to censorship but all expressions of popular protest, all forms of pluralistic activity, all references to the endeavors of the Catholic Church, and all incidences of natural disaster such as floods, bad harvests, and the like.

**B**UT censorship was only one of the problems confronting *La Prensa* under the Sandinista regime; it also faced debilitating economic and material problems. One of these problems was the difficulty of obtaining foreign currency from the government to pay for the imported raw materials without which *La Prensa* could not operate. A second problem was the paper supply, which was also controlled by the government and stringently rationed. For a certain amount of time, *La Prensa* had been allowed to publish twelve-page editions, but as of February 1986, the quota was reduced to six.

Another Sandinista smear campaign alleged that *La Prensa* had received funding from the CIA. The background of this campaign was as follows. In 1985 *La Prensa* received a grant of \$100,000 from the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). In 1986 we received a second grant of \$50,000. In neither of these cases was *La Prensa* paid in cash. The money went to our supplier, who in turn shipped us the ink, chemicals, and other raw materials necessary for publishing a newspaper.

As is well known, the NED is funded by the U.S. Congress, and its board of directors is bipartisan. Moreover, the grants were publicly announced by the donor. Nonetheless, the Sandinistas used the ensuing publicity to assert that *La Prensa* was receiving money from CIA agencies, and continued to repeat this transparent lie as an "established fact." But this is not surprising, coming as it did from a regime which invariably links anyone who disagrees with or opposes it with the CIA—a regime whose established facts have been shown over and over to be established lies.

**Postscript:** From the moment the Sandinistas made their offer to buy the paper we sensed that something definitive was about to happen, and we were right. On June 26, 1986, the Sandinistas closed *La Prensa* for perhaps the last time. Shortly thereafter, President Daniel Ortega declared in an interview that the paper would remain closed as long as there was a war on, or until we changed our political attitudes—a statement that would have provoked an avalanche of protests in any free country. But Nicaragua is not a free country; ever since 1979 the Sandinistas have been methodically silencing the country's independent voices one by one. Now there is one less voice to speak out against the prefabricated reality that the Sandinistas export abroad to confuse and manipulate international opinion.

In a more profound sense, however, we cannot be silenced. The Sandinistas can destroy radio stations; they can shut down newspapers; they can beat, imprison, exile, or murder whomever they please—but they cannot ultimately silence the Nicaraguan people. They cannot censor our thoughts, they cannot imprison our hunger for freedom, they cannot exile our sense of justice. In the end, it is time itself that is against them and not even the Sandinistas can censor, imprison, exile, or murder time.

Commentary, January 1987.



# WORONI THE STUDENT BROKER



Jules Twigg

## MONITORING YOUR INVESTMENT

In this edition, the Student Broker will explain the basic approaches that can be taken, to keep an eye on the performance of your shares on the Stock Market. Jules will indicate the most useful sources of information available to students, then give a detailed explanation of the significance of the share-market index, and how to read the share quotations listed in the financial press. He will then present current Stock Market developments, in 'Market Report'.

### Sources of Information

There are various sources of information available to shareholders of public companies. The various types are listed below together with a brief explanation of the significance of each.

**1. Visitors' Gallery** - the public may view the current market trading on any of the six Stock Exchange trading floors in Australia.

**2. Quote Sheets** - these can be obtained by request at any of the Stock Exchanges. They give detailed descriptions of the day's share trading.

**3. Radio and Television Reports** - Regular segments are often allocated on news reports, when significant events have occurred at the Stock Exchange.

**4. Dial-a-Quote** - A Telecom service giving up to date quotes on share prices; however it is limited as it only covers a few significant stocks.

**5. Newspaper reports** - The Financial Review gives the most comprehensive report on the Stock Market, including all other significant Australian financial markets. The regular sections of capital city daily newspapers also give reports and details of their respective Stock Exchange trading.

**6. Business Magazines** - The various editions are published at different time intervals. One of the most useful is 'Personal Investment' as it incorporates the Australian Stock Exchange Journal.

**7. Company Reports** - Involves the reporting of company activities to their owners (i.e. shareholders), in the form of Six-monthly interim, and Annual Reports.

The company's Profit and Loss statement, gives an explanation of the company's earnings and their earnings distribution. The Balance Sheet indicates what the company owns, what it owes to people, and what it is worth. These statements and other parts of the reports should be discussed with your stockbroker, who will give you any assistance in interpreting them.

**8. Your Stock Broker** - Most stockbroking firms publish regular reports on various types of companies and present market conditions, together with professional advice, these reports can be obtained, free of charge, from your stockbroker at any time.

### The A.A.S.E.\* All Ordinaries Index

The All Ordinaries index provides a measure of the Stock Market as a whole. As prices of shares move up and down they are reflected in index movements, just as the inflation rate is measured by the CPI index.

It measures the fluctuations of the 300 largest market capitalized companies in Australia and is broken down into 27 sub-indices which account for 90% of the market capitalization\* of shares listed on Australian Stock Exchanges. The index only measures listed ordinary shares, rights\* and delivery shares\*, excluding options\*, convertible notes\* and Preference Shares.

The price fluctuations of large companies have a greater influence on the index, than smaller sized companies. For example, BHP's market capitalization is 70% of the Diversified Resources Index, which is roughly 10% of the All Ordinaries index. A movement in BHP's shareprice would, therefore, have a significant influence on the index. This is the reason why it is known as the benchmark of the Stock Exchange in Australia.

Alternatively, price movements in the resource (30% of the index) sector may be overshadowed unless there are sharp rises in certain stocks; such as the recent movements in the gold share index, which has pushed the All Ordinaries Index to record highs.

### The Financial Press

The financial section of the newspaper provides detailed summaries of the previous day's trading, and any relevant financial news. Stock trading summaries gives investors an overview of the day's trading highlights and any significant events that have led to major price and shareholding changes.

All share trading and present market prices for shares can be read from the share trading charts listed in the newspaper. Presented below is a segment from such a chart and a description of each column's function.

## Definition Section

**A.A.S.E.** - Australian Associated Stock Exchanges.

**Bid** - - The price at which someone is willing to purchase shares in the listed company.

**Contributing Share** - A share which has been partly paid for. i.e. the par value is not fully paid. The company may request the balance of payment at any time.

**Convertible Note** - A loan which is made to a company at a fixed rate of interest, with the right to be either redeemed for cash or converted into ordinary shares at a predetermined date. Commonly used in take-overs to defer payment of shares until a later date.

**Deferred Delivery** - The result of a new issue of shares for which share certificates have not been issued. They change to ordinary shares once the share certificate has been delivered to the shareholder.

**Dividend Rate** - The dividend shown as a percentage of the par value of the share.

**Dividend Yield** - The dividend shown as a percentage of the last sale price of the share.

**HATTERSLEY MAXWELL NOALL LIMITED**

ESTABLISHED 1857

Member Corporation of the Australian Stock Exchange Limited



Canberra House, Marcus Clarke Street,  
Canberra City, 2601  
G.P.O. Box 408, Canberra City, 2601  
Telephone: (062) 47 4744



# THE STUDENT BROKER

# WORKING



## INDUSTRIAL SHARE PRICES

Par Value	Share & Par Value	Last Sale Price	+ or -	Quotes		Day's		Dividend Rate %	Yield %	P/E Ratio
				Buy	Sell	High	Low			
	Aber. Ind.	.98	+ 3	.96	.98	.98	.95	16	8.2	5
<b>Bid</b>	ACR \$1	2.10	+ 6	1.90	2.10	2.25	1.95	15	7.1	5
	Acam Dev. 50c	2.60	+10	2.60	2.60	2.60	2.50	22	4.2	19
<b>New</b>	Accord Hold. 50c	1.65	-	1.60	1.60	1.65	1.60	15.5	9.5	11
	Accord Hold. 50c	1.62	- 3	1.58	1.64	1.65	1.58	-	-	-
	Alld. Agric. 50c	.70	-	.65	.70	.75	.65	-	-	-
<b>Convertible Note</b>	Amars \$1	1.88	+ 2	1.87	1.88	1.90	1.88	16	8.5	9
	Amars 11%	2.35	+ 5	2.35	-	2.35	2.25	11	10.5	2.6
	Am. Dev. Corp. 50c	4.00	-	3.80	4.00	4.10	3.90	11	2.8	28
	Appac. 25c	2.20	+12	2.18	2.20	2.22	2.18	35	4.8	15
	Art. Supp. 50c	1.07	+ 9	1.07	1.10	1.12	1.05	12	5.6	4
<b>Rights</b>	ARA \$1	5.50	+10	5.40	-	5.50	5.35	22.5	4.1	15
	ARA \$1	1.05	-	1.00	1.10	1.10	.90	-	-	-
	Aust. Ind. 50c	-	- 3	.87	.90	.87	.85	-	-	9

The last price at which sales took place.

Offer

Price/Earnings Ratio

Dividend Rate

Dividend Yield

## MINING AND OIL SHARE PRICES

Share	Last Sale Price	+ or -	Quotes		Day's		
			Buy	Sell	High	Low	
<b>Deferred Option</b>	AAX Min. 50c	.80	+ 2	.70	.75	.80	.75
	Abel. Res. 25c	.35	- 1	.35	.38	.38	.35
	Abel. Res. 50c	.20	- 2	-	.20	.21	.20
<b>Delivery</b>	Aster Oil	.28	+ 1	.27	.29	1.20	1.30
	Avmax Min. 50c	1.30	+ 5	1.30	1.40	1.30	1.30
<b>Contributing Share</b>	Bass Ex. 20c	.55	+ 1	.54	.58	.56	.54
	Beta Oil	.72	-	-	-	-	-
	Beta Oil 50c	.70	-	.68	.72	.70	.68

The lowest price at which shares sold during the day.

The highest price at which shares sold during the day.

The amount by which the last price varied from the previous day's closing price.

Quote

From "Stock Exchange Terminology" by the Stock Exchange of Melbourne Limited.

**New** — Newly issued shares by a company which do not rank equally with existing shares in respect to dividend payments.

**Offer** — The price at which someone is willing to sell shares in the listed company.

**Market Capitalization** — The present worth of a company as calculated by the stock market. It is found by multiplying the number of shares on issue to the public from a company, by the last market price of the shares on the Stock Market.

**Option** — An option is issued by a company as a means of obtaining capital. It is exercisable at a certain time for a certain sum of money. Once it has been exercised it becomes a share in the company, options not exercised by the due date expire.

**Par Value** — It is the face value of the share, as determined by its issue price. The par value of shares in the newspaper are 50 cents unless otherwise shown.

**Price/Earnings Ratio** — The share price divided by the earnings per share.

It is used to compare each share listed on the market in similar terms.

**Quote** — The sum at which buyers and sellers have indicated at which price they are willing to trade in the shares.

**Rights** — This is a method used by a company to arise extra capital. It is distributed to existing shareholders at a predetermined ratio. For example one right for every eight shares held. A right can be taken up by paying money to transfer it into a share. Alternatively it can be sold on the market at its going price.

## Market Report

On the 15th April one of the biggest Bull runs in stockmarket history ended. The All Ordinaries index had reached nine consecutive records, peaking at a record 1801 points. Highlights during the first two weeks of April, included the third biggest turnover of shares in the history of the stockmarket — \$574m worth of shares on April 11th; whilst the gold index recorded its biggest single jump in history of 232.9 points.

Interest in the stockmarket centred mainly on Australian gold shares. With large unrest in South Africa, Australia has become one of the largest producers of gold in the world. Instability in the \$US (reaching a forty year low against the Japanese Yen), and America's current trade friction with Japan, has meant that investors are switching over to gold. Large offshore buying from the Japanese, and Europeans has centred attention on Australia's gold stocks.

Activity in the stockmarket over the past week has been slow, as people take profits on their gold investments. The Easter break meant that many investors were playing safe and getting rid of large parcels of shares, as the fear of bad news over the break could have sent the stockmarket lower.

## NEXT ISSUE

In the next issue, the Student Broker will outline details of a sharemarket competition to be started up in second term. He will explain other aspects of the stockmarket, and report on recent stockmarket action in the Market Report.

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Monday 27 April 1987.

23



**POLITICAL PILGRIMS: The Travels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet Union, China and Cuba 1928-1978** by Paul Hollander

Paul Hollander's book sets out to answer the questions "Why was it that sensitive, insightful and critical intellectuals found societies like that of the USSR under Stalin, China under Mao and Cuba under Castro so appealing — their defects so easy to ignore (or, if observed, to excuse) — and so strikingly superior to their own societies? How was it possible for many of them to have visited these societies, often at their most oppressive historical moments . . . and yet *not* notice their oppressiveness? Or, if they did, what psychological and ideological mechanisms enabled them to take a tolerant view?" Hollander's conclusions, "that intellectuals use double standards and that the direction of their moral indignation and compassion is set and guided by their ideologies and partisan commitments", constitute a savage indictment against some of the Western world's leading intellectuals of the past and present.

*Political Pilgrims* does two things. Firstly, it documents the nature and extent of many Western intellectuals' idealisation of totalitarian societies, quoting what dozens of preeminent intellectuals and literary figures had to say about the USSR, China and Cuba as a result of their travels to these countries. Secondly, it seeks to explain why these people failed so incredibly to understand and communicate the true nature of these countries.

In the 1930s, while the USSR was in the grip of Stalin's terror, with forced collectivisation causing widespread famine and the massacre of millions of peasants, with rapid industrialisation and the mass mobilisation of labour causing acute suffering on the part of the USSR's workers, when the GULAG had a population in the millions, and while the NKVD was engaged in the bloody Purges and terrorising of the entire population, the West's intellectuals were busy touring and idealising the country and writing home with glowing reports of life in this socialist paradise.

Edmund Wilson was inspired to say "you feel in the Soviet Union that you are at the moral top of the world where the light never really goes out". George Bernard Shaw was so convinced that there were no food shortages in the USSR that before crossing the Soviet border he flung a parcel of food out the window, to the mortification of underfed Soviet border guards. Next day in a Moscow restaurant reserved for foreigners, when some doubts were raised about his action, he looked around the restaurant and exclaimed "Where do you see any food shortage?" Henry Hodgkin was led to declare, "As we look at Russia's great experiment in brotherhood, it may seem to us that some dim perception of Jesus' way, all unbeknown, is inspiring it".

Apart from these general impressions, the GULAG, the NKVD, and Stalin all came in for special adulation. According to G.B. Shaw "the [GULAG] administration is well spoken of and is now apparently as free from physical cruelty as any prison in any country is ever likely to be". Indeed, according to Anna Louise Strong, "So well known and effective is the Soviet method of remaking human-beings that criminals now occasionally apply to be admitted". Such were the ludicrous descriptions of the labour camps which made up

the Gulag Archipelago.

The NKVD rendered similar praise. Sidney and Beatrice Webb cheerfully recounted how "the other functions of this extensive government department, is the considerable social services rendered by its uniformed staff, and its achievements of a reformatory character, now constitute a larger proportion of its work than its criminal prosecutions or the imposition of death sentences". G.B. Shaw was even able to endorse its non-reformatory activities " . . . we cannot afford to give ourselves moral airs when our most enterprising neighbour [the USSR], . . . humanely and judiciously liquidates a handful [sic] of exploiters and speculators to make the world safe for honest man."

Stalin's reputation among Western intellectuals was as a wise and benevolent leader of a great socialist utopia. Indeed, he was *Time* magazine's Man of the Year in 1938, which is rather as if Pol Pot had been named Man of the Year in 1979 (only Stalin managed to butcher millions more). Shaw wrote, "Stalin has delivered the goods to an extent that seemed impossible ten years ago; and I take off my hat to him accordingly."

According to Jerome Davis, Stalin did not believe "in forcing his ideas upon others . . . Everything he does reflects the desires and hopes of the masses." Emil Ludwig found him to be "a dictator to whose care I would readily confide the education of my children." Hewlett Johnson wrote that Stalin was a man of "steady purpose and a kind geniality . . . Here then was a man who had helped to plan a new order and a square deal for the masses . . . the man who could see that justice was done on the broad scale."

The above is just a small sample of that offered by Hollander as he describes the extent to which the idealised image of totalitarian states on the part of intellectuals differed from reality. It is a story that repeats itself for China under the murderous Cultural Revolution, Cuba, Vietnam, and Albania, all the subject of various intellectuals' affections over the years.

In explaining this phenomenon, Hollander points to several factors which led in varying degrees to such faulty judgement of these societies. They include the fact that these intellectuals were almost invariably estranged from their own societies, the extent to which travelling intellectuals had their tours managed to prevent them from seeing the realities of the countries they visited and the fact that, ultimately, little can be learned from touring a country anyway.

The most important of these factors was the degree of estrangement. Western intellectuals who developed an affection for some perceived utopia were invariably experiencing an equally strong distaste for their own societies, i.e. democratic, free-market societies. Such estrangement came in two waves: the first in the 1930s as a result of the Depression (which led to the tours of the Soviet Union), and the second in the 1960s, as a result of material abundance and its "alienating" qualities (which led to the reverential tours of China and Cuba).

Western intellectuals have a well-earned reputation for being highly critical of their own societies and the values of those societies and such criticism was particularly sharp in the 1930s and 60s. Hollander goes into a great deal of depth in examining the causes of

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their estrangement, which are part ideological/psychological. What becomes clear is that the whole process of political tourism is the result of intellectuals being excessively critical of their own societies and, in the rush to find alternatives, they put their critical faculties in their back-pockets and embrace the first society with sufficient socialist pretensions to satisfy their needs.

While touring the Utopia of the Month, carefully managed tours of the part of local authorities ensure that only the pleasant features of the country are seen, including model prisons, hospitals, schools, factories, etc., confirming all the intellectuals' preconceptions. For their own part, intellectuals engage in a great deal of what Hollander calls "contextual redefinition" so that are well-received. Thus, while "manual labour under capitalism is usually seen as demeaning . . . under socialism the joyless routine on the assembly line or in the fields acquires new meaning; coolies carrying baskets of dirt on their heads becomes transformed from wretched slaves into valiant builders of a new society; even garbage and night soil collectors

become ennobled in their otherwise unattractive calling when such toils are performed on the altar of collective well-being. In short there is more (and less) to the intellectuals' concern with poverty and deprivation than often meets the eye." Hollander also finds that "intellectuals move with lightning speed from vehement moral indignation and moral absolutism (. . . for their own societies) to a strangely pragmatic moral relativism brought to the assessment of policies of countries . . . they support." Such hypocrisy (including the account of Scott Nearing "who often left his home in Maine in November rather than watch hunters kill deer, defended Soviet tanks in Budapest") is a recurrent theme in the book.

The amazing thing about these political pilgrimages is that Western intellectuals never learn the lessons of history, always coming to the conclusion that this "dictatorship of the proletariat" is somehow different, somehow less murderous than the last. *Political Pilgrims* contains these lessons, and should be read by all those who would think well of a totalitarian state.

Stephen Kirchner





**A MESSAGE FROM THE MINISTER OF HEALTH**  
**STEALTH**

*The Hon. Neal Blewett, Ph.D. M.P.*



“Privacy laws will be introduced to help protect the privacy of information held about the people by the government.”

*—Telegraph 8.6.86*

“Let me say as a socialist that it is the interests of the community that should come before the individual right...we shouldn't get too hung up as socialists on privacy because privacy, in many ways, is a bourgeois right that is very much associated with the right to private property.”

*—Address to the 1986 South Australian ALP Conference*

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**NO TO I-D CARD**



## BIBLE SOCIETY BOOKSHOP

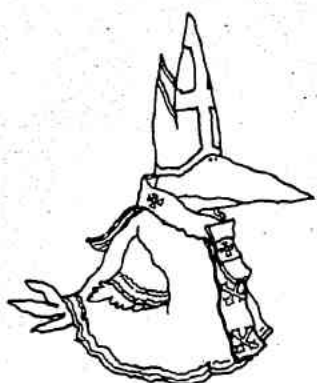


Garema Place Canberra City ACT

# "The Bible Specialists"

**T**HE CATHOLIC CHURCH in Australia today is not unlike a healthy-looking patient suffering from some deep-seated ailment but not yet pronounced terminally ill. The Church presents an impressive picture with its magnificent cathedrals and churches, hundreds of schools and colleges and a host of shiny office buildings, hospitals, convents and monasteries. In terms of nominal membership, Catholicism has grown since World War II from about 20 per cent of the population to over 26 per cent making it the largest creed in the nation with the greatest number of regular Church-goers. Since the early 1960s with the breaking of the State Aid impasse and the progressive increases in government funding the Church now finds itself an important sector of the nation's educational establishment. Furthermore, there is little left of the old, stubborn anti-Catholic sectarianism — there is not much Catholic to be bigoted about these days — while Catholics, once predominantly the working class Irish, are now of numerous ethnic backgrounds and well-represented in all classes and professions.

Since the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), a gathering of over 2000 of the world's Catholic bishops aimed at a rejuvenated, spiritually enriched and world-leavening Church, Australian Catholicism in Australia has shared the widespread decomposition of the Church in the West. Mass attendances have about halved in twenty years, confession almost disappeared in places, Catholic teachings are ignored or rejected by a majority of nominal members of the Church, the young products of Catholic education religiously illiterate and vocations to the priesthood and religious life less than one-third of their 1965 levels despite an increased Catholic population. The recently published *Ratzinger Report* has a disturbing relevance for this country.



Br. Marcellin Flynn, F.M.S., concluded his recent work *The Effectiveness of Catholic Schools*, with some disturbing thoughts about a fading Catholic identity, belying an otherwise optimistic assessment of the current health of Catholic schools which emerged from his analytical surveys:

Br. Marcellin's statement has even further point if we substitute "Church" for "schools" and make it read: "If the Catholic Church ceases to be Catholic and becomes religious in name only, it will have no special reason to exist..." This is the challenge which Australia's Catholics and their leaders must come to terms with for despite the "new triumphalism" of the post-Vatican II Church in Australia which replaced the old (with its muscular Catholicism of public processions, denunciations of heresy and confident possessions of truth), the Church of the 1980s is but a shadow of its former self. Yet this new triumphalism looks upon the so-called pre-Vatican II Church as antiquated, discredited, simplistic, credulous, inward-looking and confrontationist while viewing itself as fresh, renewed, mature, authentic, outgoing, innovative and relevant.

An examination of this "newchurch" ideology reveals the following characteristics which, despite claims to the contrary, depart from the renewal called for by Vatican II and more recently by Pope John Paul II.

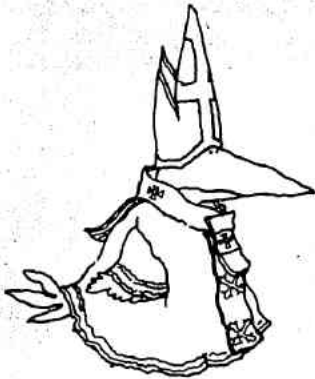
## New Class, New Church

by Michael Gilchrist

Firstly, the New Church (and its new class of ideologues) is indifferent or neglectful of the sacred and the supernatural despite occasional lip-service to "God" or "The Spirit". It acts, in practice, as if these were little more than words. This *horizontalism* shows itself in experiential catechetics, "meaningful" liturgies and in efforts to politicise the Church in areas of justice and peace. The New Church is man-centred rather than God-centred, concerned to adjust to the demands of the world rather than to leaven its secular environment with spiritual values and insights. For example, Masses at an Adelaide "Peace and Justice" seminar a couple of years ago were held in the common room rather than in the chapel, Tip Top sliced bread was used for the Eucharist while the "altar" consisted of two desk drawers on top of one another. The priest did not wear any vestments and a John Lennon song was used as an entrance "hymn". Numbers of Catholic secondary school classes devote their time to analysing the words of pop songs by Michael Jackson or Joni Mitchell as part of the religious lesson.

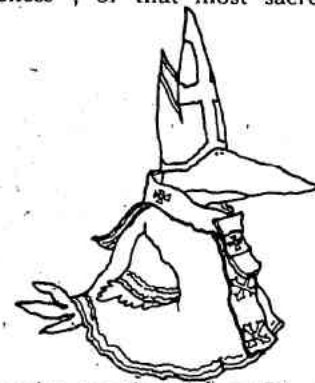
The New Church is disdainful of Church authority, especially that of the Pope and his chief advisers such as Cardinal Ratzinger. There may be a token nod towards the papacy from time to time and a conveniently vague supportive line quoted from an encyclical to provide window dressing for programmes essentially un-Catholic. Despite Vatican II's unambiguous affirmation of papal primacy efforts are made to stretch collegiality into justifying virtually independent local churches referred to as "the Adelaide church" or "the Melbourne church". In the names of church democracy it is argued that grassroots communities should be freed from Roman centralism to develop their own forms of Catholicism tailored to local "needs".

In the third instance the New Church questions or dilutes the Catholic notion of divinely revealed truths, guarded and transmitted by divinely-appointed authority. This can be expressed through demands for "academic freedom" involving *avant garde* theologians publishing and promoting pluralist views throughout the Church at cross purposes with official teachings or for rights of conscience or experiential perspectives of truth. Catholics, it is now alleged, can be Catholics on their own subjective terms, regardless of whether this conflicts with Church doctrines and disciplines. (Such a situation is as ridiculous as a Labor M.P. claiming the right to support Liberal party policies publicly and still remain a member of the ALP. Yet many members of the New Church seriously adhere to such a line of thinking.)



Another attack on the Catholic concern with permanent, objective truth has come via an acceptance of the secular world's cult of change and of the evolutionism of Darwin and Teilhard de Chardin. The traditional view

that understanding and appreciation of the mysteries of faith can and should be deepened is turned on its head to allow a firmly-held doctrine to be adapted in conformity to secular notions of progress. There is a horror of the "same old thing" and aversion towards anything static or stagnant. The prime consideration becomes, not what the Church continues to teach and affirm, but how far the Church has acknowledged fashionable theories and opinions on "equality", "discrimination" or psychological "wholeness", or that most sacred of all words: "change".



Catholics who question the confident "musts" of the "newchurch" and refer to recent Vatican documents and papal statements are told that they are "legalistic", "hidebound", "narrow" and "immature" and reminded that "everything has changed since Vatican II (despite the fact that Vatican II provides no ground for such extravagant claims). Few Catholics at seminars, meetings, conferences, seminaries, colleges or institutes (all seemingly enjoying the blessing of the official Church) are able to defend such "newchurch" tactics. The majority tends to accept "newchurch" indoctrination as "Catholic renewal" and to assume that those who invoke the documented mind of the Church and the words of the Pope are "conservatives", "right wing" or "pre-Vatican II reactionaries".

A further aspect of the New Church is its elitism. This elitism posits that only members with correct thought patterns are worthy of New Church membership. The old passive, obedient, habit-bound Catholic must be straightened out through catechetics and renewal programmes of total commitment, the creations of vibrant liturgy groups and the mature speculations of adult education courses. The New Church must be a church of quality (not mere numbers), maturity, autonomy and self-fulfillment. Those whose faith cannot be sustained in the absence of clear rules, doctrines, authority or rubrics are well rid of. In the end a smaller church must emerge with an elect membership, rather like a new Religious Order, able to interpret God's will; creatively for varying time and places and to make the church meaningful and acceptable in the world of today. Members of a "newchurch" parish in Melbourne, for example, recently wrote to the *Advocate* to express gratitude for the enlightened ministry of their "newchurch" pastor who, they said, confronted them "with the childlikeness of some of our beliefs, that we might have a mature faith". This "newpriest", they added, "tears down façades, and removes props, that we might rely on inner strength". The result was, they said, "a more mature, self-sustaining and developing Christianity".

Since varying doses of the "newchurch" ideology are to be found in catechetics programmes, adult education courses, parish renewal materials and seminary lectures, it is reasonable to suppose that barring any drastic remedial action the Catholic Church will be steadily subverted over the next generation or two.

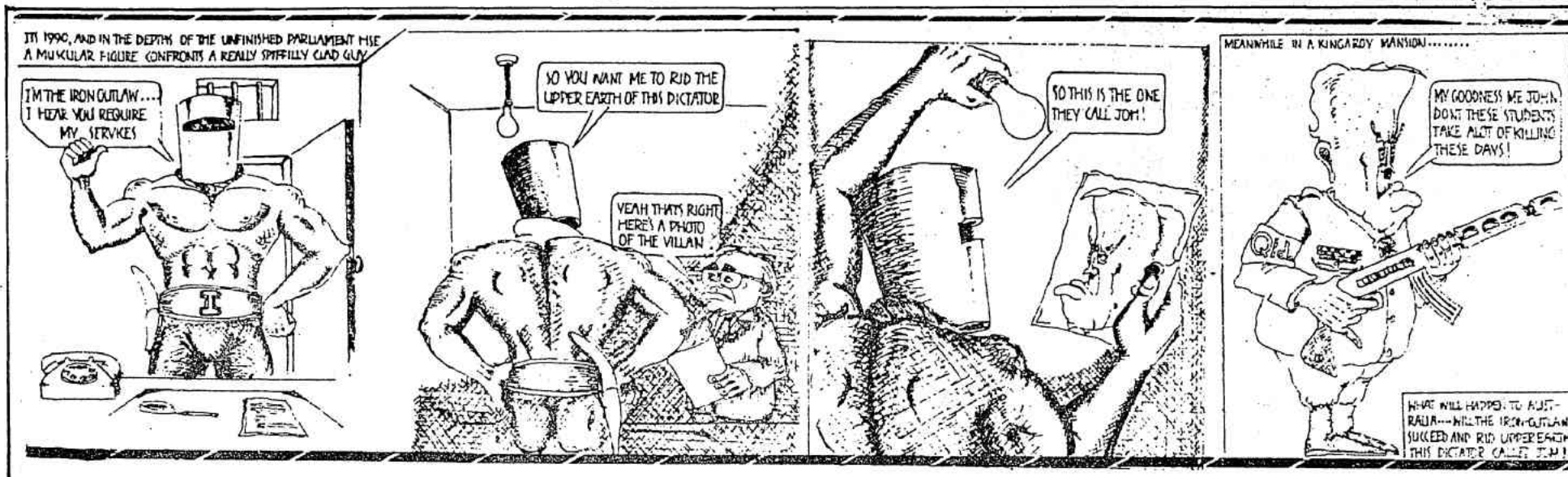
This concern may seem of limited interest and relevance to the non-Catholic majority in Australia. However, the spiritual health of the nation's largest single religious body (and still the most numerous religiously-active group, despite its extensive losses) should be a matter of considerable concern to those who care about the impact of religious values on national life.

Quadrant September 1986

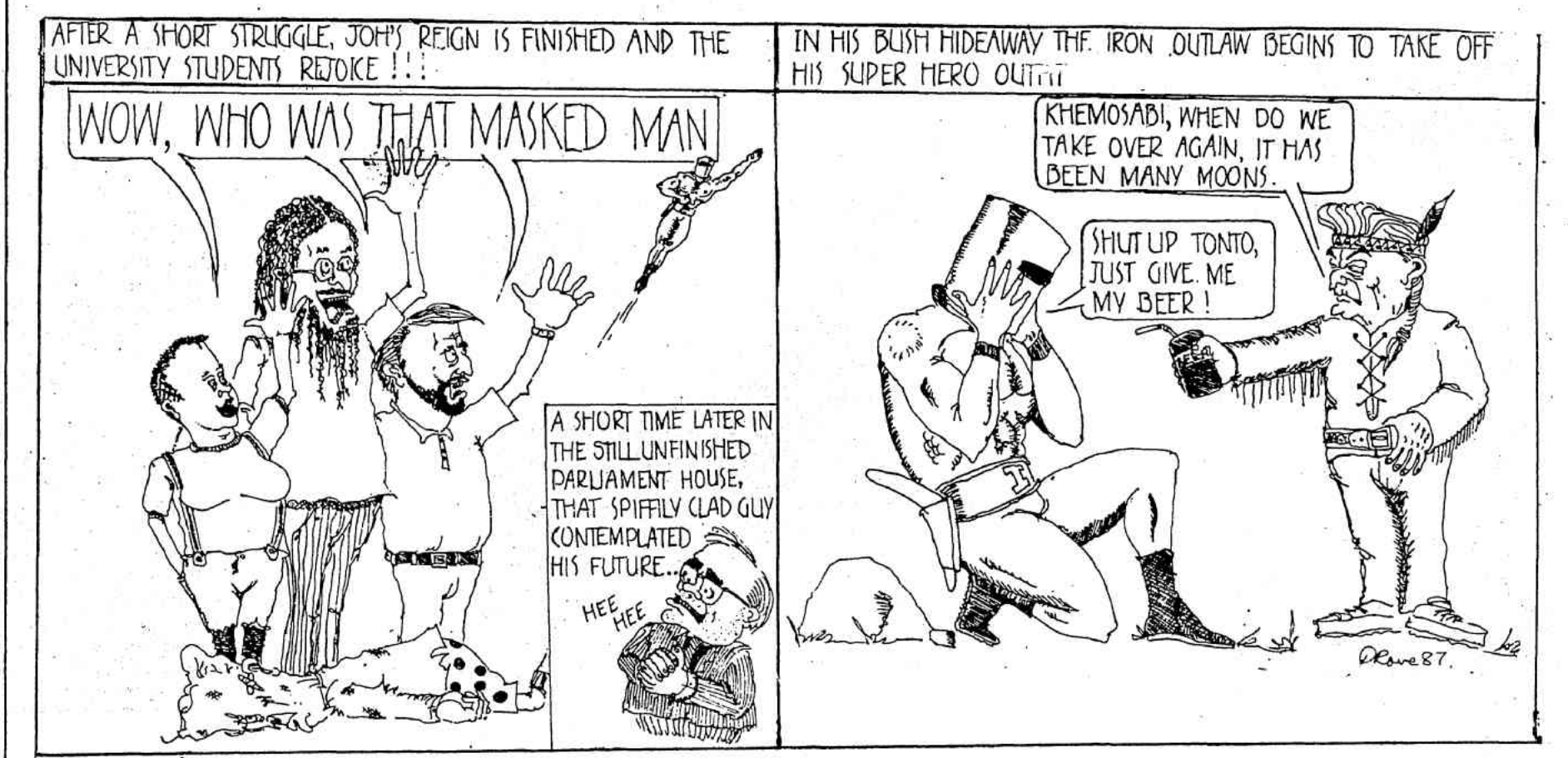
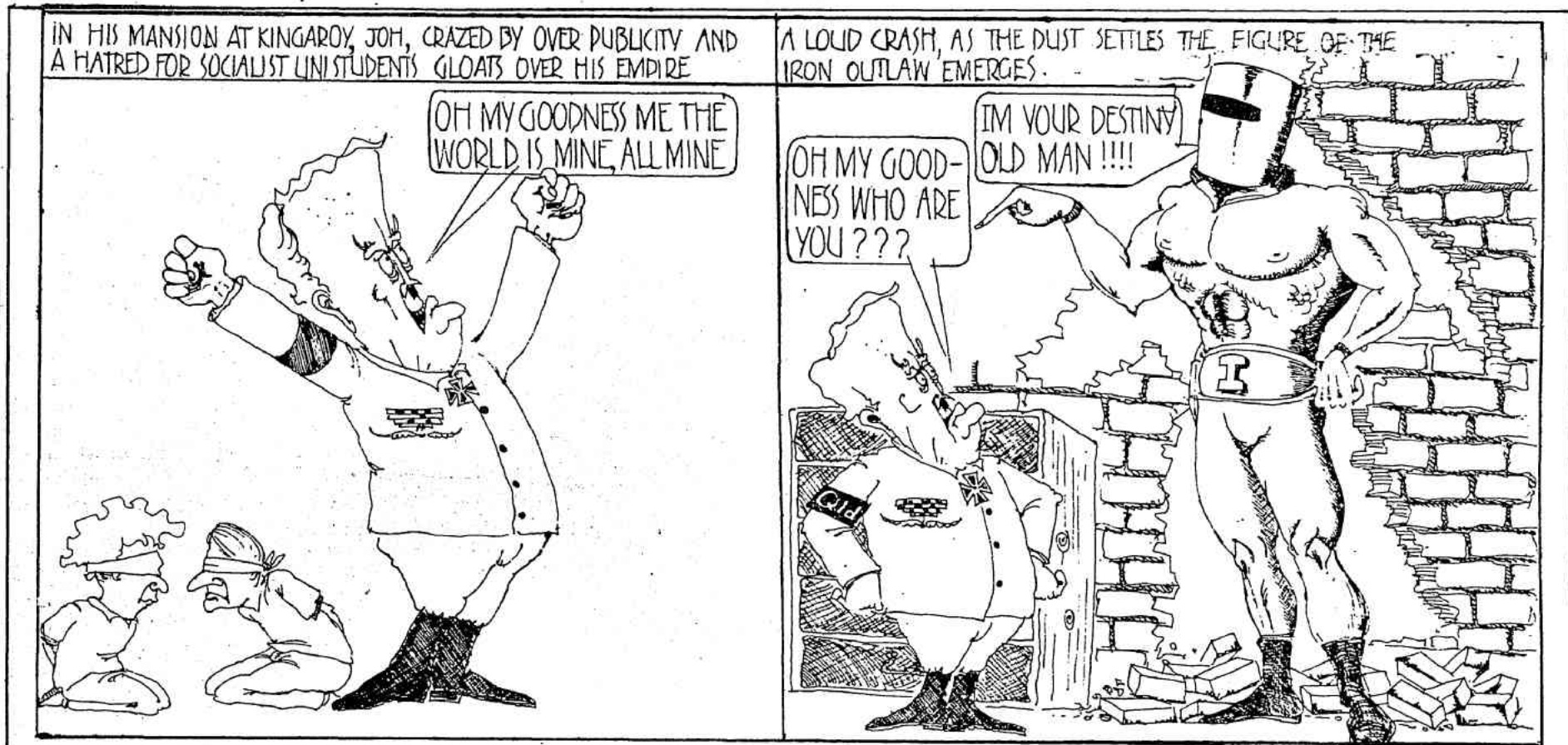


# Woroni's Cartoonist

## ROWE'S DEBUT IN MARCH



CONTINUES.....





THE QUIET TIME

An Introduction Idea

It was very early one cold October day when a young student left his little room and walked down one of the cobbled streets of the poorer section of Vienna.

He turned slowly down the Rudenstrasse and onto the crumbling Ternatze Bridge over one of the thousands of canals that comb the ancient city.

Far across the bridge he could see a fat woman in a satin dress lurching home under the strain of half a litre of schnapps and the memory of an equally fat tourist's gratification.

He stood staring into the blackness for a very long time. He felt immensely sad, strangely, too, he thought, for he had really nothing to care about and for the moment he put it down to what the best advice to young writers' paperbacks called an artistic depression.

It was a funny city, he mused silently, yet, all cities were funny — throw a million people into one squabbling block and voila! a city, so apart from the rest of life that travelling a mile out of it was like landing on a different planet in another time.

The University course was a long one — four years — out of a lifetime of maybe sixty if you were lucky. And then you had... what? Even that was uncertain. Yet he didn't think he disbelieved in God or even personally dislike Him and yet he didn't think he could really credit Him either — the whole business was pretty nebulous and when one is very young nebulous theories are easily discounted by Philosophy I.

And he was no different — no, really admit it to yourself — he was caught in another strand of the same dream, a complete introverted extrovert. But there it was again, more rubbish from the giant brain factory. Intros, and extros, and ambi-verts — it all sounded like the nightmare of a Venusian biologist's post graduate work in marine botany.

back to the street. Typical, either you were drunk or a harlot or a feminal if you were out this late in a deserted street; in a mad world fed on dirt and sordid snippets of gossip it was typical.

But what matter? He turned the collar of his jacket tighter around his neck — the fabric was an old one and it didn't seem to mind unduly, or perhaps it, too, had tired of the great "norm" and the abnormal people who perennially set it as "convention" and "the right thing".

The sharp wind began to blow off the water and the nameless muses walked quickly into the doorway of an inebriated tavern. "The Good Cheer", odd, he wondered, what could possibly be good about working, hot and sweaty all day to be carried out into the gutter, shivering and dribbling the same night. But he had no desire to change it, no Messiah-complex, he complimented himself. But, what a gift it could be at times — a Messiah-power, not just the result of a psychotic explosion, but real and absolutely all-powerful.

He had always liked the raising of the dead best and tonight his eyes ran at the thought. But to what good? To bring a man back into this existence, that seemed to be the utter pinnacle of paramount stupidity. Maybe he hadn't wanted to come, would he have been forced or would he have a choice? And he wondered what had actually happened to the faithful servant-resurrected, had he committed suicide minutes later? That seemed the only sensible thing to do once you had made sure that there was, in fact, something on the other side and that you made it there.

He looked up at the sky. It would be dawn soon and he saw the decayed golden fingers stretching hauntingly across the clouds to the pot of gold or the philosopher's stone, or whatever it was they were supposed to point to.

He began to walk back the way he had come and his footsteps echoed dramatically, he thought, through the old tenements.

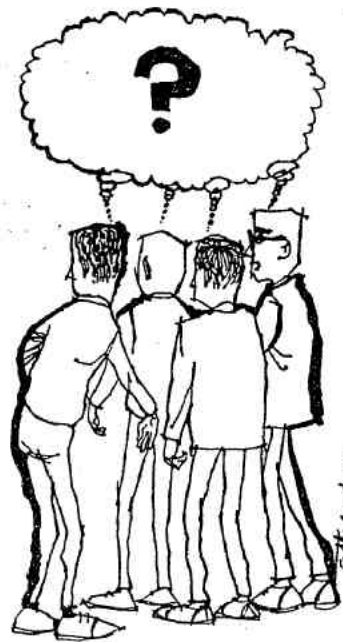
It was a little later when he came to the Van Tertz monument with the little fountain under it and he threw a small coin into the water. It struck with an onomatopoeic plop and he stared fascinated as the ripples danced around it. It seemed very safe there, away from the rest of the world, protected by the water. But it would rust, just as everything did, sooner or later. There was no real protection from anything and he cursed the naivete of the metal for not knowing it.

After he had scooped it up again and thrust it deep in his pocket he felt a little better — at any rate it was in his keeping again, and he had a strange love of protecting what had been his, even for an instant.

But it was getting late and he swore quietly and walked quickly down the street to where they were burying his mother in the old cemetery.

Wm. L. MARSHALL, 1st Jan., 1963.

DRIVE SAFELY? Your Mother-in-law may be around the corner



Liberals on the Loose

After many pessimistic and sarcastic comments from the Socialists, liberals and non-politicians alike — the A.N.U. Liberal Club has come into being.

Our objectives are to get liberal speakers to give talks and more important to initiate debates and strong opposition to the "Labor Club".

DOWN WITH SOCIALISM The "Labor" Club seems rather afraid of its own ideals and at its last meeting it declined to call itself a socialist

club from fear of being branded as Communists. Since Socialism is their platform, they should have the gumption to explain to the "Ignorant Masses" (which they assume are present) what Socialism really entails.

Also the Labor Club has conveniently freed itself from the extremely dilapidated state of the A.L.P. policy and its socialist ideals by non-affiliation. The great similarity of the two parties' policies is an indication of the Australian voters — workers included — disregard of Socialism.

Socialism is obviously not suited to the Australian economy with the need of rapid expansion which has been and will be only obtainable by the incentive of private enterprise and continued uninhibited overseas investment.

— J. WEBB.

FARMERS POETRY PRIZE

Sponsored by Farmer and Company, prizes totalling 200 guineas are being awarded in connection with the North Side Arts Festival in August 1963.

The judges are: Professor A. D. Hope of the Australian National University, and Roland Robinson, President of the Poetry Society of Australia.

The closing date is 20th July, 1963.

Entries should be original, unpublished poems of any length, on any subject, but preferably having an Australian theme.

First prize is 100 guineas; second prize is 50 guineas; third prize 25 guineas. Additionally, prizes are offered to writers under twenty years of age. First prize 20 guineas, and second prize 5 guineas.

Entry forms, and replies to any queries, should be first obtained by writing (enclosing stamped, self-addressed envelope) to:

DR. GRACE PERRY, 350 Lyons Road, FIVE DOCK, N.S.W.

Song...

One day I will forget you, Despite the strength of love I bear. I know I said "forever" When I told you how long I'd care. I said I'd not forget you, But like a man, my dear, I lie. When dead, I will forget you; When I forget you, I will die.

W. Elliot.

R.S.L. AT BAY

Mr. W. Keys, the National Secretary of the R.S.L., was interviewed recently by two Woroni reporters with respect to what the R.S.L. regarded as the purposes of Anzac Day. He was questioned in the light of the incident at Perth on Anzac Day when some members of the public unfurled placards proposing Nuclear Disarmament during the Last Post, and were attacked by members of the R.S.L.

He was told that even the "Daily Telegraph" (Sydney) reported these "demonstrators" to have been behaving in an orderly and respectful manner, and also that their placards were not in bad taste.

SKILFUL EVASION

He replied that their action was a direct provocation and mentioned darkly that he could prove this. He then changed the topic. (Perhaps he considered that these demonstrators were trying to embarrass the R.S.L., who incidentally must have a prior right to use brute force to control these situations.)

NO POLICY!

As stated, he changed the topic, and so the catechism switched to the R.S.L.'s policy on Nuclear Disarmament itself. He made it quite clear that the R.S.L. was all in favour of Nuclear Disarmament provided that The Balance of Power was maintained. He went on to say that in actual fact the National Council of the R.S.L. had not debated this topic, so there was no formal policy on the matter. At the time we were willing to ask just what the National Council of the R.S.L. did debate. A liquor licence for the sub-branch in Gol Gol?

NATURAL ORDER OF CONFLICT

He expanded, Taking India's recent humiliation as his example, he showed what happens to a nation that is unprepared for war. He also pointed to South and North Vietnam on the world map gracing his wall and described country by country the progress of the Communists through Asia were we to let them. He (correctly) assumed the cold war to be a natural state of being and argued from this, thereby putting down the theory of unilateral disarmament. This state of war, he pointed out, is due to the Eastern Powers and their policy of World Domination. He did not consider Dollar Domination to be immoral.

HOPE FOR DEAD REDS

Then, after a brief allusion to the Australian prisoners of war in Japanese prison camps in Malaya, Burma and Thailand, and a description of how they came through the most depraving conditions recorded outside the Bible, he was asked about "Better Red than dead". He dismissed this with a curt reference to the Hope these P.O.W.'s had in a glorious Allied Army finally winning the war. He asked where the Hope was to come from if we all turned Red.

A not invalid question in the light of 1948: However, we must remember that there was a Reformation. The outcome was that as long as we place Peace in the hands of Warriors there will always be an R.S.L.

BOOK OF THE MONTH THE MEMOIRS OF CASANOVA by himself. Exhausting and Exhaustive in six volumes, this weighty work will delight, excite, and enlighten. (Look under HISTORY at the S.G.S. library!)



Tuesday, 14th MAY, 1963

WORONI — Page 7

## ARMAMENT AND DISARMAMENT PEACE FRONT REVISITED

The United Nations F.A.O. Campaign on "world hunger" has focussed attention on one of the most depressing facts of our day and age: we spend far more on armaments than we do on the urgent problem of alleviating poverty and misery.

This being an established fact, it brooks no argument that the world must seek, and go on seeking, a solution to the problems of world tension from which derives the need for expensive systems of defence.

Whilst talks continue, hope remains that the ultimate solution will be found and peace consummated. But, let us give no support to the starry-eyed idealist or worse, the perceptive propagandist who proposes unilateral disarmament, nuclear or conventional, as the grand gesture of peace.

### EASY PREY

All that such a policy promises, in reality, is that our country will be an easy prey for those powers whose predatory instincts and conquests have been documented before the Assembly of the United Nations. Not too long ago they were lassified and easily recognisable as dispensers of fantasy wandering along in their own rarefied atmosphere or as conspiratorial roustes who gathered in hidden

corners and dim-lit back rooms to match their furtive spirit.

But now respectability and even eminence — the vanguard of the "peace" partisans who sign petitions and demonstrate and gain political adherence to their policy.

### LABOR DILEMMA

The present political situation in Australia illustrates their new importance. As the Federal Government has become forceful on defence — moved by the exigencies of our situation — convulsions have taken hold of Her Majesty's Opposition.

Reduced to its essentials we see half of the Australian Labor Party, supported by parlor pinks and "progressives" outside the party, foisting on it a policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament and disengagement from alliance, while the other half feverishly tries to save the Labor Party from electoral disaster by throwing overboard the policy its leader describes as "indefensible". This "indefensible" policy of the A.L.P. is the self same or similar policy of the starry-eyed idealists and conspirators now given respectability.

Its recent policy panacea — the Nuclear Free Zone and the proposition to American bases (might be endangered, as if we weren't already) proceeded quite naturally from Moscow. And oh! so quickly.

From the 21st Congress of the Communist Party in Jan. 1959 to the Australian Labor Party in May 1962 is progress — quick enough to delight old Khrushchov himself. Someone will undoubtedly be rewarded in secret with a silver dove of "peace" and a health trip to the Black Sea. The banishment of Skripov can be borne with a shrug when one has such compensation.

Whatever the outcome of the Labor dispute over foreign policy, nuclear disarmament and bases, the "peace" partisans sleep well. They are still "respectable" in the community; they can have their marches, still sign their petitions and present them to Parliament. Shady characters from the Communist-led unions

or "progressive" intellectuals, they have fair prospects that their turn will come again.

After all, the people who made the policy at the Federal Executive level of the A.L.P. are still there, and what they did once they can do again.

### REACTIONARY CONSERVATIVES

Meanwhile, those of us who want peace but with liberty and say that we have no reason to trust either the Communist Russians or Communist Chinese, hence insist on such tiresome safeguards as abandonment of conventional as well as nuclear arms and on "inspection", can only smile ruefully occasionally as we are labelled reactionaries, war-mongers and conservatives.

— "EL CID"

## International Student Literary Contest

A contest to encourage literary creation among students is being conducted on a world wide basis by the International Bureau for Cultural Activities (IBCA), a cultural agency of the International Student Conference, of which Australia is a member.

THE CONTEST CLOSES ON SEPTEMBER 30th, 1963.

All University students are eligible to submit entries in the two categories — poetry and short stories, in either French, English or Spanish.

A maximum of five poems and three short stories which must not exceed 1,500 words each may be entered by each contestant.

Judging for each language section will be done by a special jury selected from leading writers and literary critics. Prizes will be offered for the best poems and short stories in each language.

Winning entries will be announced in *The Student*, a monthly magazine published by the International Student Conference. As well, each participant will receive a special publication of the winning entries.

Entries must be typed, double spaced, on regular 8 1/2" x 11" paper, signed with a pseudonym.

The entry form, mentioning the author's name, the title of the poem or short story and the pseudonym must be sent to *The Student* under separate cover in a sealed envelope.

The envelopes will be opened only after the judging, so that the author's name, university and country will not be linked with his entry before the judging.

Entries will not be returned, but IBCA will claim no copyright on them.

Entries should be addressed to:

THE INTERNATIONAL  
BUREAU FOR  
CULTURAL ACTIVITIES,  
POST BOX 36,  
LEIDEN,  
NETHERLANDS.

Entry forms may be obtained from the N.U.A.U.S. Secretariat, 52 Storey Street, PARKVILLE, N.Z., Victoria.

## THE MORAL BREAKTHROUGH

Radicalism has at last reached a pinnacle of expression at the A.N.U., a long cherished myth of the "common man" has been found wanting. It is the myth that honesty pays; "that pinching from your mate ain't the thing".

We of the University fraternity can see through the foibles of common man. We must question his morality, and if we find it wanting, develop a more enlightened one of our own.

Common man, it has been mentioned, has many cherished beliefs — many of these are held merely for emotional reasons and have no basis in rational thought. One such belief, is surely that of the inviolacy of personal possession. As all things are the free gift of God, no man has the right to claim sovereignty over them. Believing this, one has a moral obligation to frustrate the attempts of common

man (i.e. those still unenlightened) to maintain his sovereignty over material things.

### THE PROCESS OF ENLIGHTENMENT

Having arrived at the conclusion that it is the moral obligation of the free thinker to frustrate expressions of sovereignty over material things by common man, the question remains, where to start. For the student, this should raise no problems. Obviously his immediate obligation is to his fellow students who must be freed from the bonds of superstition. It is only in that way that general enlightenment may be hoped for.

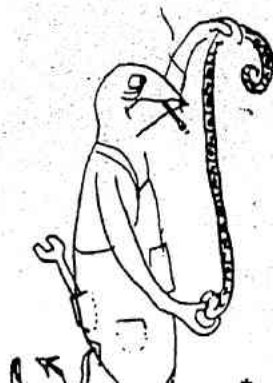
This University must be proud of the fact that it numbers within its ranks such outstanding radicals and freethinkers.

What it should be even more proud of is the fact that they have the courage of their convictions and were willing to give practical expression of them at the woolshed dance organised by Arts and Economics Societies.

The organisers were saved the embarrassment of raising money for their Miss University entrants by the simple expedient of removing about £20 worth of beer and spirits.

— REDBIRD.

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## PSYCHOLOGY ASSOCIATION

The A.N.U. Psychology Students' Association held its Inaugural meeting on 18th April.

The meeting began with a short talk by Miss Linda Viney on the general aims and activities of other psychology students' societies, in particular of those at the University of Tasmania, of which she had been an enthusiastic member. At this meeting the committee was elected.

President: Ed. Highley.  
Vice-President: Janette Clarke.  
Secretary: Vida Andruska.  
Treasurer: Janet Moore.  
Committee: Robert Odell, Ian Munro, Andrew Satropa.

### TOILET TRAINING

The main aim of the Association at this stage is showing of films of psychology and general interest. At a Committee meeting on 22nd April the first of the showing was arranged for 1st May.

Activities planned for next term include several addresses to the society by speakers, as well as more films, which will be to all interested students.

In spite of the recent formation of the Association, three members are to attend a Conference of Psychology Students.

This is the first national conference and will be held in Brisbane from 19th to 26th May.

At a meeting to be held early in 2nd term they will report on activities at the conference, as well as on information collected about the aims and activities of other Psychology Societies.

## STRIKE IN PORTUGAL

Portuguese student leader writes from prison. José Bernardino tells of a rising tide of opposition to Salazar's regime.

The National character of the student struggle, to maintain student syndicate activity, to re-establish organisations which have been banned and for the holding of a national student congress, has alarmed the government which has stepped up repressive measures.

Apart from breaking up meetings, numerous students have been arrested and imprisoned.

The active solidarity of some professors brought about their dismissal and, in some cases, imprisonment.

"It is impossible for me to know how many students have been arrested," José writes, "but I do know that more and more the fascist prisons are being filled with political prisoners."

We have come a long way since the heady days of 1963.

These pages, printed in pre-SA publication regulations *Woroni*, reflect how the views, humour and focus of a particular dominant sector of society can operate. These opinions typified by jokes about mothers-in-law, promoting the adolescent thrills of discovering *Usarova* in the library, with an *usarova* assumed to be male (with the possible exception of those who enter the Miss University quest) surely reflect a particular bias of a paper written for and by a specific sector of the student population to the exclusion of all others. Director of Student Publications.

## -And Shouting In The Corridors

This place I love: in Summer days  
with breeze as soft as lover's breath.  
In scorn from those my love enfolds  
As harsh as lover's lips can bite,  
And shouting in the corridors.

Yet still I love, in malice and  
with heart and mind despising  
my own being. I cannot hate:  
I am attuned to love, it runs wild,  
mocking my blood, In anguish  
familiar as remembered idiocy  
Still I love.

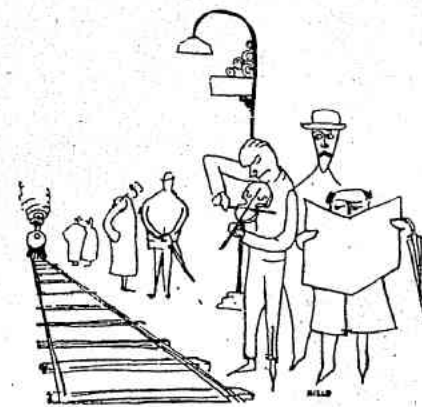
For this I gave up home, friends  
glowing in the warmth of love,  
Half-embered. By blood forsaken.  
Coldly I gain: a love-hate time  
Of hope, futility and revelation.  
All within my own decay.

Little time remains to me. Yet  
I have loved, felt all intensely, woman's hands  
beating in ecstasy on my proud back.  
A soft, slow smile, quiet after love.  
I have known snow inside short boots,  
Woman's tears, coiling my intellect in  
Charming madness.

To me, this is enough, That I have felt:  
Felt love and despair, hate and joy  
All to the fullest. I will not die  
a soul's slow death, for pain is a  
rebirth.

Smiling, I will turn from Here,  
How could I pain in languidness  
When scorn my lot, laughter my reward,  
For love. Then I will know again the loving  
Paradox. Years, soft, but hardly born  
Will course their silent way,  
And in my Love I'll Hate.

— George Westbrook,  
England, 1962.



## Anti-Anti Communists

DIRECTIONS FOR READING ALOUD:

INTONE IN A PSEUDO-INTELLECTUAL DRAWL

Though Communists, we think, are rather low,  
Against the Reds we never strike a blow,  
Whether they be false or true  
We wouldn't have a clue,  
We're anti-anti-Communist, you know.

We are anti-anti-Communis., oh! oh!  
On the fence we sit and watch the danger grow,  
Till the revolution comes  
We will sit and twirl our thumbs;  
But the winning side we'll fall on, don't you know.

We are anti-anti-Communist, oh! oh!  
Though the Reds have slaughtered millions, well we  
know.

We find Comms amusing coots,  
But anti-Coms are "Fascist Brutes!"  
So freedom grant to Freedom's mortal foe.

A very nasty fellow whom we know  
Says if we're "anti-anti," then we're PRO "  
He's an intelligent snob,  
And a friend of "Pig-iron" Bob,  
And a deviating, "anti," so-and-so.

Of swarming Asian Reds we say: "Foot Snow!"  
To such extremes we sometimes dare to go,  
With parlour-pinks we lobby;  
We read Marx as a hobby;  
And we're anti-anti-Communist, oh!





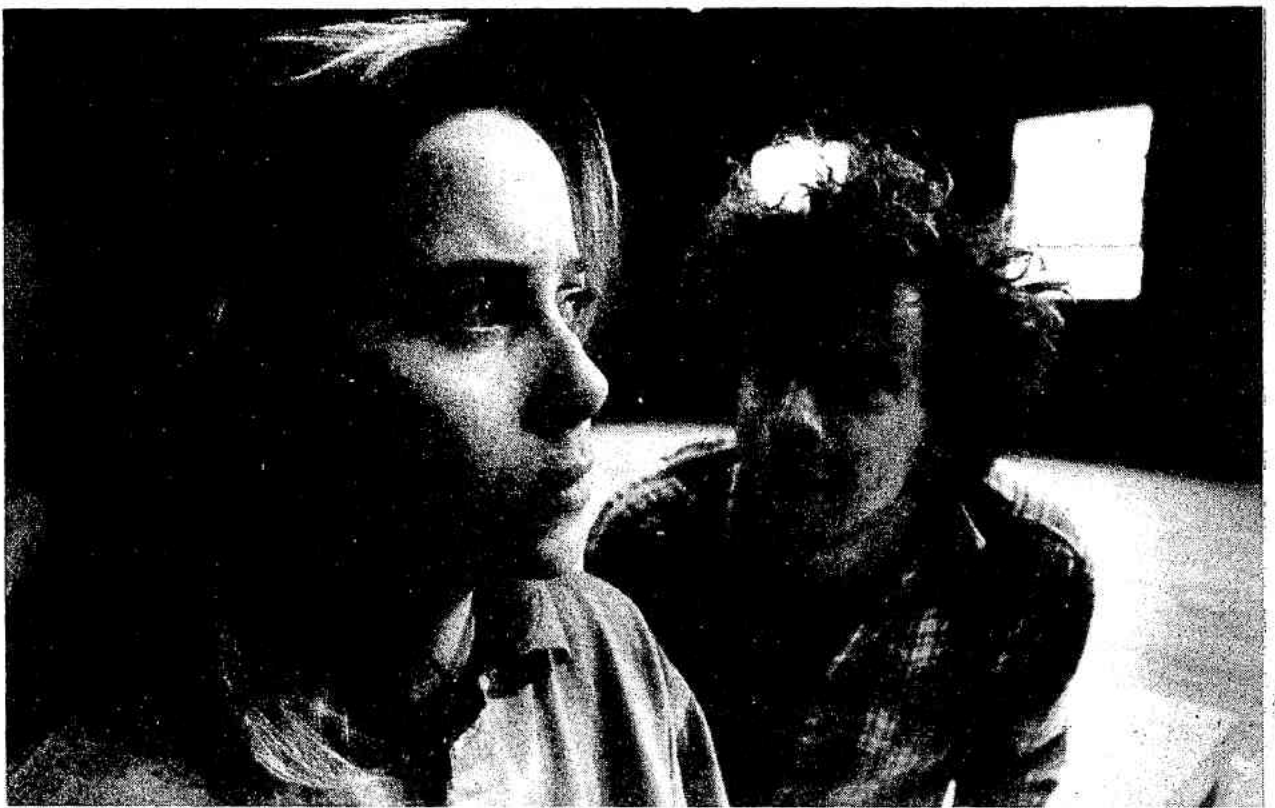
Hard on the heels of the brilliantly successful *Uncle Vanya* season comes Fortune National Capital Theatre Company's production of Chekhov's delightfully comic play *The Cherry Orchard*.

*The Cherry Orchard* opens at Fortune's Childers Street Theatre on Saturday 2nd May at 8pm and runs through, Tuesday to Saturday, until May 23rd.

*The Cherry Orchard* is Chekhov's supreme comic achievement, his last play, a soufle of exquisite humour, the antics sometimes farcical but always highly subtle.

Don Mamouney promises Canberra audiences a Fortune Cherry Orchard faithful to Chekhov's illuminating insights into human emotions, to his evocation of atmosphere and unique humour.

Fortune's Cherry Orchard eschews the nostalgia and sorrow in favour of an affirmation of change and renewal. The old Russia was about to make way for the new. The cherry orchard can be interpreted as a symbol of the old Russia.



The Fortune Company has the creative acting talents to bring this comic masterpiece to life. Fortune proudly announces the guest appearance of internationally acclaimed actress Roberta Grant in the central role of Lyuba Ranevskaya, the role created by Olga Knipper, Chekhov's wife, in the original 1904 Moscow Arts Theatre production.

Another recent arrival to Fortune is Sydney actor Tony Helou who received critical acclaim for his starring role in the cult movie "Dogs in Space". Tony plays Epikodov and Pishik.

NOTE: Low priced May Day Preview Friday 1st May 8pm. All seats \$7.00. Childers Street Theatre has been completely renovated; new and comfortable seating and heating have been installed for *The Cherry Orchard* production.

FORTUNE · THEATRE  
**THE CHERRY ORCHARD**  
 A COMEDY by ANTON CHEKHOV  
 Tues.-Sat. 8.00pm FROM MAY 2nd  
 BOOKINGS: Ph 571077, Childers St.  
 Theatre 572 688 or at  
 the door \$15/\$10 conc.  
 New Seating and Heating





# A NEW SPORTING HERO

## Greg Norman

There is nothing like winning the British Open to calm the nerves and sweeten the nature. Norman's win at Turnberry, Scotland, in the worst weather conditions anyone could remember, was long overdue.

Was the Great White Shark really a fishfinger or a sardine? Windswept Turnberry put an end to the



arguments. He won by five strokes, the most convincing margin in the British Open in 10 years and the first Australian winner since Peter Thomson in 1965. Hail the king.

It is easy to find him on a golf course — it is where the crowds are, drinking in the huge drives and high-flying iron shots, marvelling at the chips to the green, willing the putts to sink. Norman used to complain that when he returned home he always encountered resentment from other Australian professional golfers ("It's not something I think about any more").

He looks a champion. The white hair comes from his Finnish ancestry and not the bottle. His nose has been shaped by a schoolboy football game. His cheekbones are high, his eyes an icy blue. The "shark's" front teeth are not his own, having been broken in a water skiing accident in Florida and water skiing is still his second sport. Also, he likes a spot of fishing and fast-driving Ferraris. Other players look scruffy beside him. He manages to make a mushroom pink shirt and mulberry colored pants look macho.

Norman is 31 and reckons he's got 15 major championships in front of him. Maybe 20. He set goals for himself. "I set daily goals, weekly goals, yearly goals, 20-year goals," he says. "I stimulate myself with goal-setting. I don't even tell my wife what they are,

although I'll tell her at the end of the year over a bottle of champagne, some of the ones I've achieved."

Rare among champion sportsmen, he is not at all superstitious. There are no favorite coins, tees, clothes or pre-

tournament meals: "I think that is very much a mind game, and what happens when it doesn't work for you? Better to face the facts. I guess it's horses for courses. If you believe in yourself it will happen. You have got to be strong. I'd never have won a major if I'd believed what people were writing or saying about me. I never read a paper during the British Open."

What Norman believes in strongly is the practice fairway and he spends more time than most players doing golf's homework: "If I'm at home, I will do between six and eight hours a day — most of that solely on the practice tee. The last 10 years I've worked really hard and the next 10 years I'll work really harder. I'll never forget my priorities or where I want to go."

Norman has known where he wanted to go since he was 15 and owned his first set of golf clubs. He was born in Mt Isa — his father, a profes-

sional engineer, worked for MIM — and grew up in Townsville and Brisbane. His mother, Toini, was a keen golfer and he used to caddy for her. As soon as she finished her round, he would set out on his own and play a few holes. It quickly became obvious that the Norman family required more than one set of clubs. Schoolboy Norman joined Virginia Golf Club as a junior member with a limit handicap of 27.

This year Norman's earnings will be in the \$5 million mark — for every dollar he earns in prizemoney, he earns another three in endorsements. The three main endorsements — there are 28 altogether — are for Spalding, Lyle and Scott and the Windstar golf resort in Florida. Thanks to Lyle and Scott, he has cashmere sweaters he has never taken out of wrappers. Niblik supplies his golf shoes, Ebel his gold watch. Cars, he claims, are his only extravagance, although in his sober 30s, he has stopped buying two Ferraris at once. The Ferrari is still his favorite car and he rarely drives his Rolls-Royce unless it is to go out to dinner. He also has a Jaguar convertible, a Jeep and an Aston Martin — all with fewer than 2000 miles on the clock. Most of his travelling is by aeroplane.

He has little interest in financial investment: "I'm terrible at business and I get so bored at financial meetings. I sit there saying, 'C'mon guys I want to go out and practise.'" Norman says there are two people who make his life easy — his wife, Laura, and his manager, Hughes Norton. He met Laura

Andrassy, a former American Airlines air hostess, after playing in his first American Open in 1979. They married two years later and have two children, "Sharkie". Wife and children have given a stability to his life. A loner on tour, he has no close friends on the circuit. In four years, he and arch rival Seve Ballesteros have not exchanged a word.



After the first day of play at Tweed Heads he sat in the boardroom of the club having a beer with his long-time friend, bridge constructor Cyril King. "God, it feels great to be back," he said. "It's a totally different feeling here. No matter where you play in the world or where you live, and I live in Florida, it still doesn't feel home."

Norman's slight American accent he says will fade over the next couple of months and be back to "pretty much where it should be". In America, an American accent just made communication simpler — in restaurants as well as on golf courses. He finds plenty to admire in America: "It is the easiest country in the world to live in. And we are going to be paying only 28 percent tax next year and the cost of living is so cheap and the ease of getting around the country is so great. And 99.9 percent of Americans are wonderful people."

If Norman was never any good at book learning — apart from the Jack Nicklaus' how-to-play-golf manuals — he was always fairways smart. He kept his eyes open and learnt from every good player he played with: "I've probably watched and learnt more from Nicklaus than anybody else. I don't have any teacher in the United States — I've always respected Charlie Earp's opinion so I don't go to anyone in the United States, I do it all myself. If I have a few problems I try to work them out by sheer hard work. Charlie is about the only one I get the nod from but Bruce Devlin gives me a few helpful hints every now and then."

Another of his teachers was his friend Sir James Killen in the how-to-handle-people department.

"Jim is a master with people and I adore the way he can have them in the

palm of his hand," says Norman. "He's a genius. Every time I'm around him I watch him. I think that's the way you learn in life — you learn from other people you respect."

Norman, a fairly spectacular club-thrasher in his amateur days, also learnt to control his temper. Was it true that he hadn't thrown a club since the time he sent a 7 iron cartwheeling down the fairway at the Virginia and his father walked off the course in disgust? "Let us just say that the club has sometimes gone into the bag very quickly from the putting green," grinned Norman. "But I think it's fine to let off a bit of temper, a bit of steam, because it's better off out of you than in you. The older you get the better you understand yourself and the game."

"When I was a young kid coming up I'd get involved too quickly in a tournament. You learn to pace yourself. When I started out this morning, I was already eight shots behind the lead." (The young Sydney golfer Robert Stephens was eight under par after just nine holes.)

The worst hiccup in Norman's career occurred two years ago when he contacted a mysterious virus after the Hong Kong Open. It was to sap his energy for nearly 18 months. Medical tests finally showed inflammation of the bronchial tubes and what looked at one stage like a cancerous polyp in his right lung. "I had walking pneumonia," said Norman. "I stayed on medication for five or six weeks and it went away."

Asked what makes Norman a champion, his friend Cyril King answered: "I've never seen anyone who hates to lose as much as Greg. If you're playing cards with him or snooker or fishing or hunting he just hates to come second. This is why he is always going to fulfil the goals he sets himself."

Golfing writer Don Lawrence who ghosted Norman's 1983 autobiography — "We made the mistake of doing the book a bit too soon" — says Norman has the guts to be great. "He's so damn good, he can put the ball on threepence,



and his putting has improved immeasurably. Golf is a confidence game and once you start holing putts there's no stopping you. There's no stopping Greg Norman."



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# !THREE AMIGOS!



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